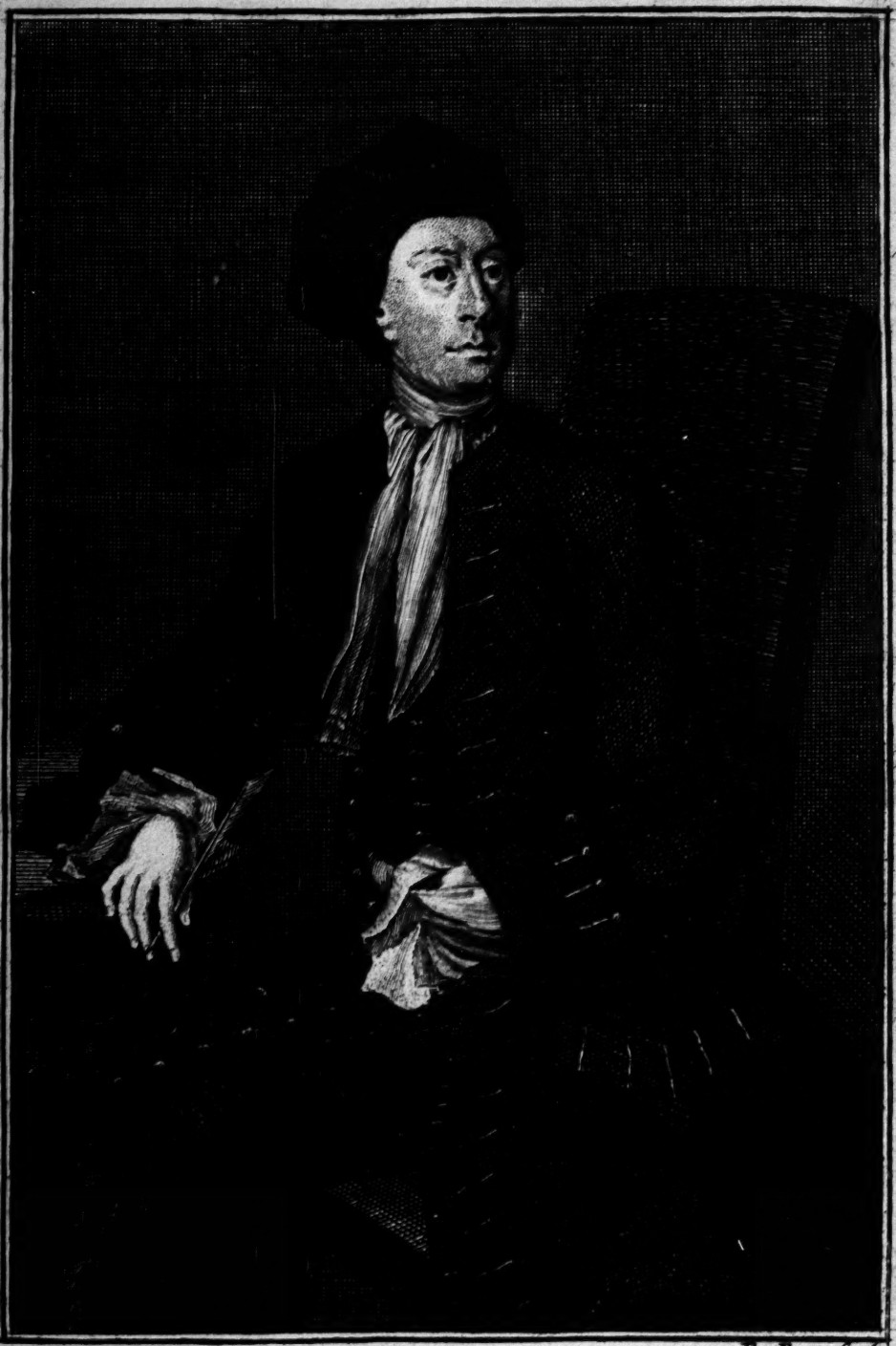
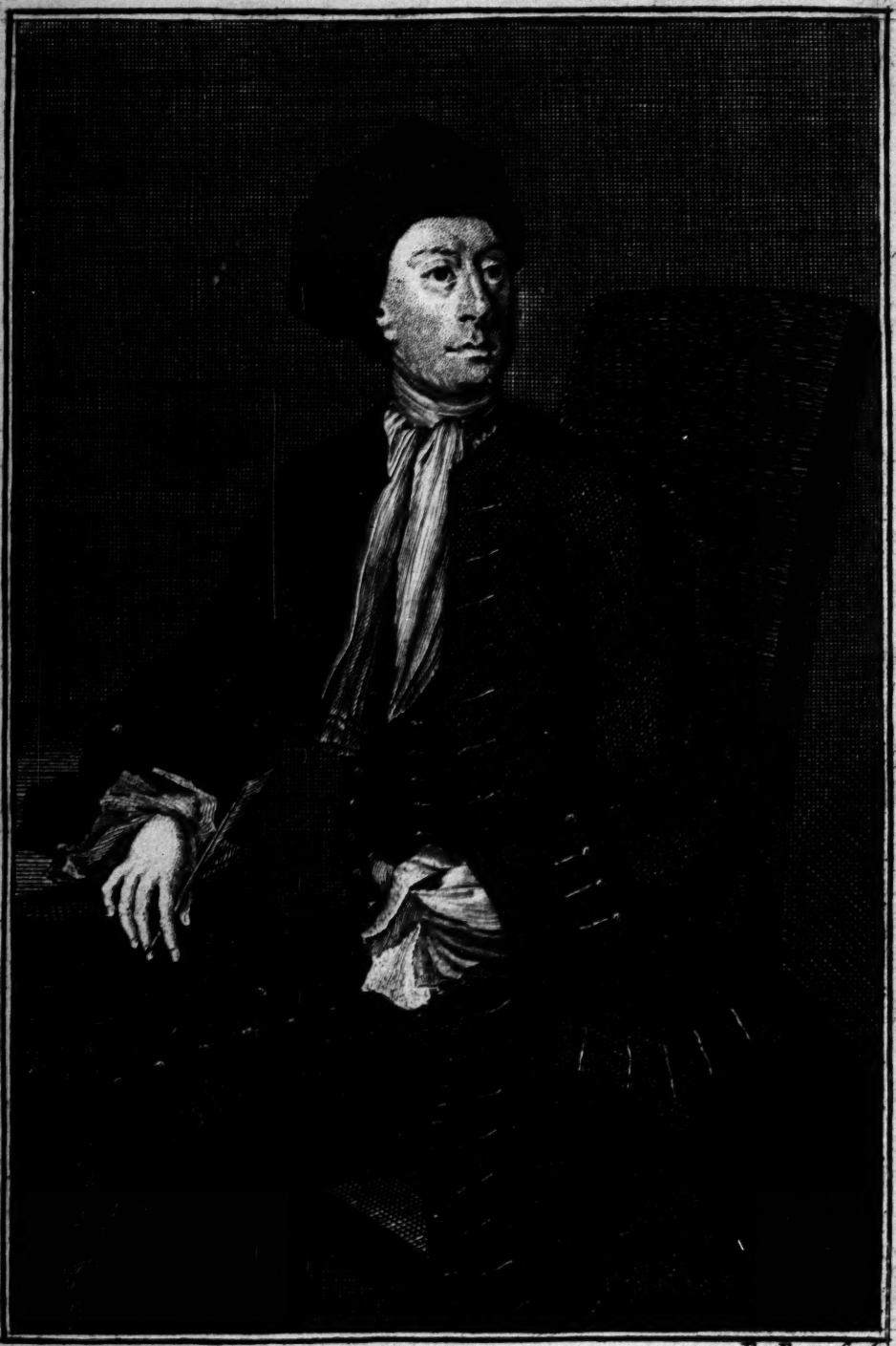


R. Parr Sculp

Matthew Prior Esqr.

Ætatis LVII.



R. Parr Sculp

Matthew Prior Esqr.

Ætatis LVII.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

His Own Time.

Compiled from the

ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS

Of His late EXCELLENCY

MATTHEW PRIOR Esq;

Reviſed and Signed by Himſelf, and Copied fair for the Preſs

By Mr. *ADRIAN DRIFT*, His Executor.

I had rather be thought a good ENGLISHMAN, *than the beſt* POET *or greateſt* SCHOLAR *that ever Wrote.*

MATT. PRIOR.

LONDON:

Printed for the EDITOR, MDCCXL.

Price Six Shillings.

W. Musgrave.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM



TO

HIS GRACE

LIONEL

Duke of *DORSET.*

My LORD,

A Dedication is uſually a Free-will Offering of the Writer, whoſe Choice of a Patron depends entirely on his own Opinion, or that of his Acquaintance. Had this Liberty of

chuſing been left me in the preſent, tho' the Common Senſe of Mankind would have furniſhed me with a Thouſand Motives for fixing on Your Grace, I ſhould yet have enjoyed the Satisfaction of applauding my own happy Ambition, while all the World had acknowledged it could not be more juſtly directed. But this, my Lord, is ſo far from being the Caſe, that I might even have been accuſed of hazarding the Reputation of the following valuable Remains, notwithſtanding their intrinſic Merit, and the diſtinguiſhing Marks they bear of the inimitable Hand which produced them, had I prefix'd to this Collection any other Name than that of the Duke of DORSET. It is owing to the ſolemn and public Aſſignment of their immortal Author, and not to any Judgment or Care of an obſcure Editor, that theſe Miſcellaneous Pieces of the late Mr. PRIOR are made to

ſhelter

ſhelter themſelves under Your Grace's Protection.

So much is Your Grace the known Friend of Mankind, that it would be an Injuſtice to queſtion your being pleaſed with this Publication, from which ſo much Pleaſure muſt accrue to all the Admirers of True Senſe and Delicate Wit. I will not detain You therefore with an Apology, for what I cannot imagine You will think has need of any. Happy as You are in having grown up to that Standard of Virtue, (a Standard ſo much above the Common in this or any other Age) which was many Years ago marked out for You by that Excellent Perſon whom we now commemorate, and who lived Himſelf to ſee his Wiſhes herein accompliſhed, I have only to join my Prayers with Thoſe of all honeſt *Britons*, that You may long continue a Bleſſing to your Country, and

and an Ornament to the High Stations You were born to poſſeſs; and to ſubſcribe Myſelf,

My LORD,

Your Grace's

Moſt Obedient, and

Moſt Devoted

Humble Servant,

J. Bancks.

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

EDWARD

Earl of *OXFORD.*

My LORD,

THO' I presume to dedicate the following Work to Your Lordship, under the Title of *The History of Mr.* PRIOR's *Own Time*, I am conscious how little it resembles what Your Lordship might have expected, had Mr. PRIOR lived to finish such an History Himself.

But the chief Materials are entirely His, and on that single

Account merit Your Lordſhip's Regard, however inartificially the Edifice may have been raiſed. The Taſte in general may have a *Gothic* Appearance, but the Workmanſhip of the Capital Parts is unqueſtionably *Roman.*

As to what little I have added of my own, or collected from other Writers, in order to fill up the Chaſms between Mr. PRIOR's Papers, and connect them in an Hiſtorical Form, if it barely anſwers this honeſt Purpoſe, I would hope the Preſent I now make will not be unacceptable, either to Your Lordſhip or the Public.

In Mr. PRIOR's Papers, Your Lordſhip knows, the Peruſer will meet with many curious Anecdotes, that are not to be found in any other Memoirs of the ſame Times: He will ſee the Motives of many public Tranſactions, which are uſually cenſured and applauded without being

ſuf-

ſufficiently known: He will, in particular, be led thro' the Management of the late War, and the weighty Arguments which prevailed in the following Negotiations of Peace: He will diſcover the Violence, and at the ſame Time the Impotence of Party Malice, againſt a Gentleman whoſe only Crime was acting up to his Commiſſion, and executing faithfully his Sovereign's Warrants: He will extract a Vindication of Your Great Father, and the other illuſtrious Perſons embarked in the ſame National Cauſe, by One who knew them better, and was in Himſelf an honeſter Man, than any of Thoſe who have ſince been employed to blacken their Memory.

I ſhould not have mentioned Your Lordſhip's Character, had not Mr. PRIOR Himſelf drawn it in a Piece that cannot be ſuſpected of Flattery, when he intreated You to accept the Execution of his laſt Will and Teſtament:

ment: But I cannot help reflecting with Pleaſure, that it is to that very Lord HARLEY whom Mr. PRIOR eſteemed, in his laſt Moments, *The juſteſt and kindeſt Man he ſhould leave behind him in the World*, that I now beg Leave to ſubſcribe,

My LORD,

Your Lordſhip's

Moſt Obedient, and

Moſt Devoted

Humble Servant,

J. Bancks.

PREFACE.

MR. PRIOR's *Epitaph in* Weſtminſter-Abbey, *compoſed by the learned Dr.* Freind, *by informing the World that he was* * writing the Hiſtory of his Own Time, when Death, by a lingering Fever, put a Period both to his Work and his Life, *has long made it a Matter of Certainty that he left behind him a great Number of Manuſcript Papers, which, conſidering the Part he bore himſelf in many national Tranſactions, the Opportunities he had of being well informed concerning others, and the extraordinary Talents he poſſeſſed for every Part of fine Literature, could not fail of being very valuable, and of the utmoſt Importance to the Publick. It was much regretted therefore, that we had been hitherto deprived of theſe Manuſcripts, and, what was worſe, had but little Proſpect of ever ſeeing them appear, unleſs they got into other Hands than thoſe who had kept them ſo long concealed.*

How they were at firſt diſpoſed of, we cannot better learn than from a Paragraph of Mr. PRIOR's *Will, which bears date* Auguſt *the* 9*th*, 1721.

" *All my Manuſcripts, Negotiations, Com-*
" *miſſions, and all Papers whatſoever, whether*

* Sui Temporis Hiſtoriam Meditanti
Paulatim obrepens Febris
Operis ſimul, & Vitæ, Filum abrupit,
Sept. 18. An. Dom. MDCCXXI.

" *of*

" *of my public Employments or private Stu-*
" *dies, I leave to my Lord* Harley *and Mr.*
" Adrian Drift, *my Executors, or either of them,*
" *having first burned such as may not be proper*
" *for any future Inspection.*

MATT. PRIOR.

Pursuant to the Clause here recited, the Original Papers devolved to Mr. Adrian Drift, *who had before beautifully transcribed most of them for the Press, by Mr.* PRIOR's *own Direction, and as corrected by Himself. The same Gentleman copied them for the Earl of* Oxford, *his Right Honourable Co-executor. He then gave them to a most intimate Friend, soon after the Decease of Mr.* PRIOR, *with a strict Injunction not to publish them till after the Death of Him, the said Mr.* Drift, *which happened at the Beginning of the Year* 1738, *when he was buried in* Westminster-Abbey, *according to his earnest Desire, near the Remains of his Dear Master.*

From this Time some Hopes were conceived that they might ere long be brought out of that Obscurity, to which their Author seems to have condemned them, and in which they were hitherto inviolably kept. Mr. Drift *being dead, the Obligation on his Friend was of course no longer binding. It would be a great Injury to Society in general, if the Writings of great Men, and even such Fragments as were worthy of* future Inspection, *were to be for ever buried, merely because the Writers were not so happy as to give them*

them to the Public themſelves: And that nothing of Mr. PRIOR's *was preſerved, but what was judged worthy of ſuch Inſpection, we may gather from Mr.* Drift's *punctual Regard for all the other Particulars of his Will.*

After the Death of the late Charles Forman *Eſq;* who had theſe Manuſcripts in his Poſſeſſion, and intended to publiſh them with all convenient Expedition, they were delivered to me; and I have endeavoured with all Faithfulneſs to execute the Part which Mr.* Forman *had taken on Him. How I have proceeded, the Reader ſhall know in a very few Words.*

Mr. PRIOR *having come into public Employment at the Beginning of King* William's *Reign, and continued therein till the Acceſſion of His Majeſty King* George; *after which he went thro' a very troubleſome Scene that laſted about two Years; I immediately concluded it muſt be by thoſe two remarkable Periods, the Beginning of his Employments and the End of his Troubles, that his intended Hiſtory of his Own Time was to have been circumſcribed: In which Opinion I was confirmed by the Papers before me. My Buſineſs then was to borrow ſuch other Aſſiſtance as was neceſſary to introduce and connect the Manuſcripts, and give the whole Work a Form, as much as I could, like that which, in my private Judgment, the Author himſelf had intended to give it. This is what I have aimed at in the Proſe Volume.*

* Mr. *Forman* died *April* 28, 1739, and was buried at St. *Dunſtan's* in *Fleet-Street.*

Of

Of the Poems (which have not yet been mentioned) I need only ſay that they came thro' the ſame Channels as the Pieces in Proſe. Moſt of them, I doubt not, will teſtify their own Original. And beſides the Satisfaction of reading ſo many new Pieces of Mr. PRIOR, *the Judicious will enjoy no ſmall Pleaſure in looking over thoſe of his Friends to Himſelf, which, contrary to the Cuſtom of other Poets, he modeſtly ſuppreſſed during his Life. The* Latin *Verſion of* Solomon, *which we have alſo added, as it has been univerſally applauded, cannot but be very acceptable.*

Before I conclude this Preface, I muſt obſerve, by Way of Note to the Satire called The Viceroy, *that Lord* Coningsby *and Sir* Charles Porter *were Lords Juſtices of* Ireland *in* 1693. *And in the next Seſſion of Parliament, a Charge of High Treaſon was preferred againſt them in the* Engliſh *Houſe of Commons, by the Earl of* Bellamont, *for Exceſſes of Power exerciſed during their Adminiſtration: But the Earl laying his Charge too high, the Commons reſolved That there were not ſufficient Grounds to ſupport it, and ſo the Meaſures complained of, as arbitrary and violent, paſſed without Examination.*

I would alſo here correct an Error of the Preſs in Page 223, *Line* 8 *of this Volume, by deſiring that the Words* but one *may be added after* laſt Parliament. *Leſs material Faults, if any ſhould be found, the Reader will candidly overlook.*

J. B.

AN HISTORY OF THE NEGOTIATIONS OF MATTHEW PRIOR, *Esq*;

BEING to write only of Mr. PRIOR's Public, or Political Life, it would be needleſs to take any Notice of his Family and Education, were it not to obviate an erroneons Opinion, which has been induſtriouſly propagated by ſome People, who

Mr. *Prior*'s Youth miſrepreſented.

have repreſented him *as rais'd from the Bar of a Tavern.* How, and whence this Story had its Riſe, and in what a fallacious Dreſs it has been handed down, may be eaſily diſcovered by thoſe who are acquainted with the Virulence of Party Prejudice.

This excellent Poet, induſtrious and able Stateſman, and, what in his Opinion was the moſt valuable of all Characters, this truly honeſt Man, was the Son of a reputable Citizen of *London*, where he was born *July* 21, 1664. He was initiated into Literature at the royal Foundation of *Weſtminſter*, under the learned Dr. *Busby*, and finiſhed his Studies at St. *John*'s College in *Cambridge*, of which he was Fellow to the Day of his Death. How injurious therefore is Biſhop *Burnet*'s Account of him, in a Work which promiſes the utmoſt Impartiality, and where a LYE is formally condemned, in the ſevereſt Language!

Appointed Secretary at the *Hague* Congreſs, 1690.

He went young into public Buſineſs, being appointed Secretary to King WILLIAM and Queen MARY, at the Congreſs held at the *Hague*, in 1690. An Aſſembly the moſt honourable to the *Engliſh* Nation that is any where to be read of! and of which, with the Occaſion of it, I muſt here give ſome Account, in order to ſhew the Dignity and Importance of Mr. PRIOR's Office,

Office, even in this early Part of his Life.

Occaſion of that Congreſs.

Lewis XIV of *France*, for many Years before this, had been entirely guided by the Dictates of a lawleſs Ambition, which prompted him to think of enſlaving all the neighbouring States, and of acquiring to himſelf no leſs than the Empire of *Europe*. He had been but too ſucceſsful in proſecuting his Scheme; the Nations round him trembled, and nothing but their Dykes had preſerved the *Dutch* from being entirely ſwallowed up by this common Enemy, who triumphantly wintered in one of their * capital Cities. *England* look'd contentedly on, and even favour'd the Deſtroyer, during the two impolitic Reigns of King Charles and King James II. It had therefore the Privilege of being unmoleſted at preſent, that it might ſink into a State of Security from the ſeeming Friendſhip of the Grand Monarch, and ſo become an eaſier Prey at a proper Seaſon, when it had either forfeited all its Alliances, or ſuffered its Allies to be rendered incapable of affording it any Aſſiſtance.

At this critical Juncture, the young Prince of *Orange* coming of Age, was by the Suffrages of the Commonalty advanced to the Dignity of Stadtholder; an

* *Utrecht.*

Office that had long been dormant, for want of an Heir of that illuſtrious Family who was arrived at Years of Maturity. His whole Thoughts were immediately turn'd on defending his Country, and even on reducing that exorbitant Power which *France* had already obtain'd. If he was not ſo fortunate as the Grandeur of his Deſign, and the Bravery and Vigilance with which he proſecuted it, might ſeem to deſerve, he had at leaſt the Honour of making a glorious Stand, of ſhewing LEWIS that he was not altogether invincible, and of winning to himſelf the Character of a Hero, by the common Conſent of Mankind.

When the Miſcarriages of King JAMES, and the little Proſpect there was of his ever aiming to correct them, had made a Revolution neceſſary in *England*; the Prince of *Orange*, who was ſent for on this Occaſion to reſtore our Liberties, found himſelf engaged by a new Motive againſt the *French* Monarch. The abdicated King put himſelf under the Protection of LEWIS, who promiſed to endeavour at his Reſtoration. Accordingly Forces were ſent into *Ireland*, and a bloody War ſoon followed there, as well as in the *Netherlands*. I ſhall not, however, enter into the Hiſtory of the *Iriſh* War, which, every

every one knows, ended in Favour of the Revolution, and the utter Expulſion of King JAMES out of all his Kingdoms.

But Matters on the Continent were not ſo ſuddenly over. King WILLIAM's favourite Project, during his whole Adminiſtration both in *Holland* and *England*, was to humble the *French* King, who had rendered himſelf formidable not to Proteſtants only, but even to all the Catholick Princes in Chriſtendom. On this Principle was formed the Grand-Alliance, at the Head of which King WILLIAM appeared, and had the Pleaſure to ſee half *Europe* unite under his Conduct, and a Senate of Princes meet to aſſiſt his Councils, and ſecond his Wiſhes. We need only look over the Liſt of illuſtrious Perſons that met at the *Hague* on this Occaſion, in order to form an Idea of the Splendor of this Aſſembly. LEWIS XIV, it has been juſtly obſerved, could never boaſt of any Thing like it. Such a Congreſs aſſembled in Honour to him, would have furniſhed his Poets, Painters, and Hiſtorians, with an inexhauſtible Fund of Panegyric and Adulation.

The Names of the Princes, Princeſſes, Great Lords and Ladies, that met at the Hague *in* 1691, *after the Arrival of his Majeſty King* WILLIAM III, *of* Great Britain.

Perſons preſent at it.

THE Elector of *Bavaria.*
The Elector of *Brandenburgh.*
The Duke of *Lunenburgh Zell.*
The Duke of *Brunſwick Wolfenbuttel.*
The Landgrave of *Heſſe Caſſel.*
Prince *Chriſtian Lewis* of *Brandenburgh.*
The Marquis of *Gaſtanaga,* Governor of the *Spaniſh Netherlands.*
Prince *Waldeck.*
The Prince of *Naſſau,* Governor of *Frieſland,* and Camp-Martial.
The Prince of *Naſſau Sarburg.*
The Prince of *Naſſau Dillenburgh.*
The Prince of *Naſſau Idſtein.*
Prince *Philip Palatine.*
The Duke of *Saxe-Eiſenach.*
The Landgrave of *Heſſe-Darmſtadt,* and the Prince his Brother.
The Duke Adminiſtrator of *Wittenberg.*
The Count of *Horn.*
The Count *d'Erback.*
Lieutenant General *Wibbenam,* who died there.
Lieutenant Admiral General *Trump.*
General *Chauvet.*
General *Delwick.*

Count

Count *d'Arco.*
Count *Sanſra.*
Count *de Reviera.*
Count *de Gryal.*
Count *de Brouay.*
Count *de Tirimont.*
Marquis *de Caſte Moncayo.*
Duke *de Sultzbach.*
General *d'Autel.*
Count *de Lippe.*
General *Barſus.*
The Baron *de Pallant.*
The Prince of *Wirtemberg*, and the Prince his Brother.
The Prince of *Wirtemberg Nieuſtadt.*
Two Princes of *Anſpach.*
The Landgrave of *Homburg.*
Three Princes of *Holſteinbeck.*
The Prince of *Anhalt Zerbeſt.*
The Duke of *Courland*, and the Prince his Brother.
The Duke of *Holſtein.*
The Prince of *Commercy.*
The Prince *Palatine* of *Birkenfeldt.*
The Count *d'Eſpence.*
The Count *de Denhoff.*
The Count *de Fugger.*
Baron *Spaan.*
The Rhinegrave, and his Brother.
The Count *de Carelſon.*
Count General *Palſi.*

The Princeſs of *Naſſau*, the Governor of *Frieſland*'s Lady.
The Princeſs *Radzivil.*
The Princeſs of *Saxe Eyſenach.*
The Counteſs of *Soiſſons.*

The Engliſh *Nobility that came with the King.*

THE Duke of *Norfolk.*
The Duke of *Ormond.*
Duke of *Schomberg.*
Count *Meinard Schomberg*, his Brother.
The Earl of *Devonſhire.*
The Earl of *Dorſet.*
The Earl of *Drumlanrig.*
The Earl of *Eſſex.*
The Earl of *Nottingham.*
The Earl of *Derby.*
The Earl of *Portland.*
The Earl of *Monmouth.*
The Earl of *Scarborough.*
The Earl of *Selkirk.*
Mr. Comptroller *Wharton.*
The Biſhop of *London.*
Monſieur *Auverquerque.*

The Names of Envoys, Envoys Extraordinary, &c.

THE Count *de Windiſgrats* } From the
The Count *de Berka* } Empe-
The Chevalier *Camprecht* } ror.

Count

Count *Pialet*, President *de la Tour* } From *Savoy.*
Count *Rebenklau*, Monſieur *Lenthe* } From *Denmark.*
Count *Oxenſtern*, from *Sweden.*
Don *Emanuel de Colonna*, from *Spain.*
Monſ. *Achſhauſen*, from *Saxony.*
The Baron of *Boomgarten*, Monſ. *Prielmeyer* } From *Bavaria.*
Monſ. *Van Dieſt*, Monſ. *Smettau* } From *Brandenburgh.*
The Baron *de Leyen*, Monſ. *Campagne* } From *Treves.*
Monſ. *Talberg*, Monſ. *Meyers* } From *Mentz.*
General and Baron *Berſau*, Monſ. *Solemaker* } From *Cologne.*
Monſ. *de Norf*, from *Munſter.*
Monſ. *Berendorf*, from *Lunenburgh-Zell.*
Monſ. *Zegel*, from *Lunenburgh.*
Baron *Gorts*, Monſ. *Keppelaer* } From *Heſſe Caſſel.*
Baron *Arſek*, from *Brunſwick-Wolfenbuttal.*
Monſ. *Klecht*, from *Hanover.*
Monſ. *Hetterman*, from the Elector *Palatine.*
Monſ. *Moreau*, from *Poland.*
Monſ. *Jeurkens*, from *Holſtein-Gottorp.*
Counſellor *Mean*, from *Liege.*
Monſ. ——, from *Hamburgh.*

For

For the States of *Holland*, were Meſſieurs *Heinſius* and *Dyckevelt*; the Former being Grand Penſionary: And for the King of *Great Britain*, the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Portland*, and Lord *Durſley*, afterwards Earl of *Berkley*, his Majeſty's Ambaſſador to the States.

There had been Conferences held at the *Hague*, in the Chamber of *Treves*, among the Miniſters of the confederate Princes, from the 16th of the preceding *March*, in $16\frac{89}{90}$. But the Neceſſity they were under of purſuing more vigorous Meaſures, for the common Safety, and the Preſence of ſo Auguſt a Monarch, on whoſe Valour and Conduct they all depended, had now brought together the Princes themſelves, and formed a more glorious Conſtellation than any Age can parallel.

It was at theſe ſolemn Aſſemblies that Mr. PRIOR, through the Favour of his Patron, the Great Earl of *Dorſet*, and the * Sollicitation of his Friend Mr. *Shephard*, made his firſt Appearance in public Buſineſs. And how well he diſcharged himſelf of the Truſt repoſed in him, we may learn from his future Employments,

* See his Epiſtle to *Fleetwood Shephard*, Eſq; which begins, *While crouding Folks with ſtrange ill Faces*, &c.

which

which were almoſt continual during the Reign of King WILLIAM, and his glorious Succeſſor.

The following Letter of Mr. PRIOR, which wants the Date of the Year, but appears to be written from the *Hague*, to a Son of Lord *Durſley*'s, ſeems to belong to the Time we are now upon, and is therefore here inſerted, with a Tranſlation.

Carolo de Berkeley, dilecto Domino ſuo,
Matthæus Prior, S^m^. P^m^. D^t^.

A Letter of Mr. Prior's.

Litteras tuas, mi Chariſſime, Sorori tuæ dilectiſſimæ ſcriptas, accepimus, atque perlegimus, quando nihil ſecreti iis ineſſe credibile eſſet. Domeſticæ noſtræ res quomodo ſe habent, brevi accipias. Mater tua hic eſt; Fraterculum pulcherrimum, et tui ſimillimum, ex Angliâ ſibi tranſportavit. Soror tua natû maxima, cum Avitâ Nelſon, Angliam profecta eſt, ad recuperandam Sanitatem, quâ malâ profectò in Hollandiâ uſa eſt. Jam vero ſubiraſci tibi debeo, nec injuriâ, quia Epiſtolas nobis nec Latinè, nec Gallicè ſcriptas mandare curas. Incumbas ſtudiis, oro, et fac ut videamus Progreſſus, quos Te octodecim jam menſes audientem Præceptores optimos feciſſe in utrâque linguâ oportet. Hoc Pater tuus, hoc tuum poſtulat Officium. Quod ad

me

me attinet, eâ ſolummodo conditione Parentes tuos optimos exorandos conabor, quò nos reviſes brevi. Hoc quoque ſibi ſcriptum Frater tuus credat. Præceptores tuos, Amicos mihi optimos, meo nomine ſaluta. Fac Me ames; Te æternum amabo. Vale.

Hagæ *Comitum*
Pridie Nonas Septembris.

To the Honourable Mr. Charles Berkeley, MATTHEW PRIOR *wiſheth Health and Peace.*

Dear Sir,

" WE have receiv'd your Letter to " your Siſter, and as there did " not ſeem to be any Secret in it, I took " the Liberty to read it over. I will in- " form you in a few Words of the pre- " ſent State of our Affairs. Your Mo- " ther is here; and your pretty little " Brother, ſo very much like yourſelf, " is brought over from *England* to her. " Your eldeſt Siſter is gone to *England*, " with your Aunt *Nelſon*, in order to re- " cover her Health; having been very " ſickly ever ſince ſhe has reſided in " *Holland*. And now, my dear *Charles*, " I ought to be a little angry with you, " not without Reaſon, that in all this " Time you have not ſent us one Letter

" either

" either in *Latin* or *French*. I beg you " would apply yourſelf to your Studies, " and let us receive ſome Teſtimony of " that Progreſs, which it is requiſite you " ſhould have made in both Tongues, " after having been eight Months under " the beſt Preceptors. This is what your " Father expects, and your own Duty " exacts of you. As for my Part, I " aſſure you, it is on this Condition only " that I will endeavour to prevail on your " kind Parents, to let you come over ſoon " and ſee us. I would have your Bro- " ther believe too, that this is written to " him as well as yourſelf. Pray give my " humble Service to your Tutors, my " very good Friends: And continue to " love me, as I eternally ſhall you".

Hague, Sept. 4.

The Grand Congreſs opened in *January* $16\frac{90}{91}$, when King WILLIAM ſat forth the Occaſion of it, in a Speech to the following Purport.

King *William*'s Speech at the Opening of the Congreſs.

He repreſented, " That the imminent " Dangers in which they found them- " ſelves, ſufficiently diſcovered the Errors " that had been committed; ſo that he had " no need to uſe many Arguments, to " ſhew them the Neceſſity of taking juſter " and better Meaſures: That in the Cir- " cumſtances they were in, it was not a

" Time

" Time to deliberate, but to act: That
" the Enemy was Maſter of all the
" chief Fortreſſes, which were the Bar-
" riers of the common Liberty; and that
" he would ſoon poſſeſs himſelf of all
" the reſt, if a Spirit of Diviſion, Slowneſs,
" and particular Intereſt continued a-
" mongſt them: That every one ought
" to remain perſuaded, that their re-
" ſpective particular Intereſts were com-
" priſed in the general One: That the
" Enemy's Forces were very ſtrong,
" and would carry Things like a Tor-
" rent before them: That it was in vain
" to oppoſe with fruitleſs Clamours and
" Complaints, or unprofitable Proteſta-
" tions againſt Injuſtice: That it was
" neither the Reſolution of a barren Diet,
" nor the Hopes of ſome Men of For-
" tune, ariſing from frivolous Founda-
" tions; but Soldiers, ſtrong Armies, and
" prompt and ſevere Union between all
" the Forces of the Allies, that muſt do
" the Work; and that theſe muſt be
" brought to oppoſe the Enemy without
" Delay, if they would put a Stop to
" his Conqueſts, and ſnatch out of his
" Hands the Liberties of *Europe*, which
" he held already under a heavy Yoke:
" Concluding, that as for himſelf, he
" would neither ſpare his Credit, Forces,
" nor Perſon, to concur with them in

" ſo

" ſo juſt and neceſſary a Deſign; and " that he would come in the Spring at " the Head of his Troops, faithfully to " make good his royal Word, which he " had ſolemnly engaged to them".

This pathetic, as well as ſevere Speech, from a Prince, to whom all the Members that compoſed that illuſtrious Body paid a reſpectful Deference, and in whoſe Judgment and Experience they placed an entire Confidence, could not but produce the deſired Effect in the End; though for a while, particular Intereſts continued to reign in the Breaſts of many, and obſtructed the ſalutary Reſolutions the King had ſo ſtrenuouſly recommended to them. This occaſioned their Sitting till the Middle of *March*, in which Time they came to theſe weighty Concluſions: *viz.* 1. Not to make Peace with LEWIS XIV, till all their Grievances were redreſs'd; and 2, to employ * 222,000 Men againſt *France*. But it appeared afterwards, that this Number would not do, and that the *German* Princes were Its Effect.

* According to the Plan then agreed on, the Emperor was to furniſh 20,000 Men; the King of *Spain*, in *Flanders*, 20,000; the King of *England*, 20,000; the States General, 35,000; the Duke of *Savoy*, including the Troops from *Milan*, 20,000; the Elector of *Bavaria*, 18,000; the Elector of *Saxony*, 12,000; the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, 8,000; the Circles of *Suabia* and *Franconia*, 10,000; the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, 6,000; the Elector of *Brandenburg*, 20,000; the Prince of *Liege*, 6,000; the Biſhop of *Munſter*, 7,000; the Elector *Palatine*, 4,000; the Prince of *Lunenburg*, 16,000.

were always both backward and deficient in furniſhing their Quotas.

Though the other Allies were ſlack in ſending in their Contingents, the King of *Great Britain*, who was vigorous and hearty in the Cauſe he had eſpouſed, was as careful as poſſible that no Neglect ſhould ever be charged on him. The Queen, who reign'd in his Abſence, borrowed this Year large Sums of the City of *London*, which they chearfully ſent in upon her Application. Having by this Means put the Fleet into a Readineſs to ſail, the Lord *Durſley*, their Majeſty's Envoy in *Holland*, had early Orders to inform the States of it, and at the ſame Time to preſs them to haſten their own Fleet, that it might be ready to join the *Engliſh*.

The Allies unſucceſsful in 1692, and 1693,

Neither this Campaign, however, nor any of the ſucceeding ones, were ſo advantageous to the Allies, as to make them deſire a Continuation of the War. In the two following Years they loſt the Battles of *Steenkirk* and *Landen*, in both which the Confederates were commanded by his *Britannick* Majeſty, and the *French* by the victorious *Luxemburgh*. The greateſt Succeſs King WILLIAM had to boaſt of, during the whole War, was the Taking of *Namur* in 1695. That Place, which was very ſtrong by Nature, had in it a Garriſon of 15,000 Men, well provided with

with all Neceſſaries for many Months, had Store of Ammunition, 100 Pieces of Cannon, 12 Mortars, and 10,000 ſpare Muſkets. This made the King's Enterprize thereon be eſteemed an Act of the greateſt Temerity, and as ſuch it was ſeverely cenſured by his Enemies. But notwithſtanding all the Difficulties attending it, this great Work, which was thought too much for a whole Campaign, was entirely finiſhed in the Space of a § Month, to the immortal Honour of the *Engliſh* Monarch, and the utter Confuſion of the *French* Party.

§ Between *July* 3, and *Auguſt* 4.

Mr. PRIOR's Muſe, which had already been * more than once engaged in the Service of his Maſter, had now a fair Opportunity given her of diſplaying her exquiſite Humour, in the moſt agreeable Manner. The *French* King had taken *Namur* in the Campaign of 92, in Sight of the Army of the Allies, who were unable to raiſe the Siege. This was extolled by the Flatterers of that Prince, as a moſt inimitable Action; and the celebrated *Boileau*, who always mix'd the Praiſes of his Maſter with ſome Strokes of Satire on his contemporary Writers, had compoſed an Ode on this Occaſion in Imitation of *Pindar*, wherein he pretended to aſſert the

Mr. *Prior*'s Ballad on *Namur*.

* In his Hymn to the Sun on *New-Year's-Day*, 1694, and his Ode to the King after the Queen's Death, 1695.

Character of that Antient againſt the Reflections of *Perrault*, at the ſame Time that he exalted his Hero above all the Heroes of *Greece*. Mr. PRIOR took this Occaſion of turning the *Frenchman*'s darling Ridicule both on himſelf and his Maſter, by burleſquing his boaſted Ode in an *Engliſh* Ballad, and printing it together with the *French*: In a Word, he convinced all polite Readers, who are generally of no Party in Matters of Wit, that the *Engliſh* HORACE was as much a more agreeable Writer than the *French* PINDAR, as he had made *Little Will, the Scourge of France*, a more amiable Hero than the divine LOUIS *le Grand* *.

His Verſes on the Conſpiracy.

The next Year, 1696, upon his Majeſty's Arrival in *Holland*, after the Diſcovery of the Conſpiracy againſt him, Mr. PRIOR preſented him with a beautiful Copy of Verſes, addreſs'd to the Guardian Angels of Mankind; wherein, by an Art peculiar to himſelf, he pays the higheſt Compliments without the Appearance of Flattery.

* The poſthumous Volume of Poetry, publiſhed with this, has an Epigram on the ſame Subject, p. 17.

The

The Apoſtrophe in this Poem to the *French* King, who was by many ſuppoſed to be privy to the intended Aſſaſſination, contains a Sentiment that is truly *Britiſh.*

O LEWIS, *from this great Example know*
To be at once a Hero, and a Foe.
By ſounding Trumpets, hear, and rattling Drums,
When WILLIAM *to the open Vengeance comes;*
And ſee the Soldier plead the Monarch's Right,
Heading his Troops, and Foremoſt in the Fight.
Hence then cloſe Ambuſh and perfidious War,
Down to your native Seats of Night prepare, &c.

As both Parties, by this Time, were quite weary of the War; the latter End of the Year 1696, and the Beginning of 1697, were entirely taken up in Negotiations of Peace. The confederate Army in *Flanders*, hearing of the Defeat of the Plot againſt his Majeſty, took an Opportunity before the Opening of the Campaign in 96, to expreſs their Reſentment againſt the *French*, who were to have invaded *England* if the Aſſaſſination had ſucceed-

Negotiations of Peace.

ed. They burned their Magazines at *Givet*, and thereby reduced them to the greateſt Extremity. Beſides, the *French* had entirely exhauſted their Country, by keeping ſuch numerous Armies on foot; ſo that Men, as well as Proviſions, began to fail them. The *Engliſh* alſo were in ſome Streights, occaſioned chiefly by the Recoinage of the Money; and it was with the utmoſt Difficulty that their Generals could provide Subſiſtence for their Troops. In ſhort, tho' the Campaign was this Year opened, it was all ſpent in Obſervation only, neither Side finding it convenient to come to Action.

1696. The *French*, ſome Time before the King's Arrival at the Beginning of the Year, had ſent Monſieur *Caillieres* to the *Hague*, offering to acknowledge his Majeſty's Title, and to deliver up ſome conſiderable Places as a Barrier againſt *France*. The *Dutch* began to liſten to the Propoſals, but would do nothing without the King of *Great Britain*, who was alſo their Stadtholder. Monſieur *Caillieres*, however, ſeemed to concede all that they could aſk: So that Matters were ſoon in a very promiſing Way, on the Part of the *Dutch*. And the *Engliſh*, groaning under heavy Taxes, having ſuffered much from the Enemy's Privateers, and ſeeing no Proſpect of gaining by the War, were rather inclined than

than averſe to a Pacification. It was at length agreed therefore, on all Hands, through the Mediation of CHARLES XI, King of *Sweden*, and the prudent Management of his Ambaſſador in *Holland*, Baron *Van Lillienroot*, that Plenipotentiaries ſhould be named, for carrying on this ſalutary Work.

Private Treaty with *Savoy*.

The better to ſucceed in this Negotiation, the Court of *France* had been privately treating with the Duke of *Savoy*, one of the moſt powerful of the Allies, during the whole preceding Winter. Marſhal *Catinat*, who commanded the *French* Army on that Side, and was no leſs an able Politician than a gallant General, had found Means to carry on the Conferences with the utmoſt Secrecy; and they were render'd effectual by the Interpoſition of the Pope's Nuncio, and the *Venetian* Ambaſſador. The Articles were ſigned at *Loretto*, whither the Duke of *Savoy*, who had, in fact, more of the Stateſman in him than of the Bigot, went under Pretence of a religious Vow, but in reality to elude the Vigilance of the Allies, whoſe Miniſters had a very watchful Eye over his Royal Highneſs.

The Notification of this Treaty, at the latter End of the Summer, obliged the Allies to withdraw their Forces out of the Dominions of *Savoy*, in order to provide

for the Security of the *Milaneſe*. The Duke of *Savoy* followed them cloſely, at the Head of the *French* Troops and his own, by Virtue of a Commiſſion of Generaliſſimo from the moſt Chriſtian King; and four Days after laid Siege to *Valencia*. So that his Royal Highneſs, in one Campaign, was ſeen at the Head of two contending Armies, and even for ſome Days commanded them both, while the Army of the Allies was yet in his Territories. An Inſtance this, that is hardly to be parallell'd in Hiſtory.

Congreſs at *Ryſwick* agreed on.

In fine, all Things concurring to recommend a general Pacification, the Terms of it were now brought on the Carpet. Here the firſt Difficulty that aroſe, was about the Place for holding the Congreſs. *Mentz* or *Frankfort* was propoſed by the Emperor: But the *Dutch*, with moſt of their Allies, were for ſome Place in *Holland*. After ſeveral Debates on this Head, about the Middle of *January*, Monſieur *Caillieres* moved, by his Maſter's Orders, that the Plenipotentiaries of the Allies ſhould reſide at the *Hague*, and thoſe of *France* at *Delft*; and that the Conferences ſhould be held at *Ryſwick*, a Palace belonging to King WILLIAM, which ſtood at an equal Diſtance between both Places. This Motion was approved of by the Confederates, and it was ſettled accordingly.

After

After which the Preliminaries were concluded, and ſigned the 10th of *February*, at the *Swediſh* Miniſter's, between Monſ. *Caillieres* and M. *Dyckvelt*. Some of the principal Articles were as follows:

1. That the Treaties of *Weſtphalia* and *Nimeguen*, ſhould be the Baſis of this at *Ryſwick*.

2. That *Stratsburg* ſhould be reſtored to the Empire, in the ſame Condition the *French* took it.

3. That *Luxemburg* ſhould be reſtored to the *Spaniards*, in its preſent Condition.

4. That *Mons* and *Charleroy* ſhould be ſurrendered as they are.

5. That all Places taken by the *French* in *Catalonia*, ſince the Peace of *Nimeguen*, ſhould be reſtored in the ſame Manner.

6. That *Dinant*, both City and Caſtle, ſhould be given up to the Biſhop of *Liege*, as they were taken.

7. That all Re-unions made by the *French*, ſince the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, ſhould be void.

8. That *Lorrain* ſhould be reſtored, according to the Condition of that Treaty.

9. That the Principality of *Orange* ſhould be given up to its Sovereign.

It was farther agreed, that provided the Peace were concluded, the moſt Chriſtian

King ſhould, at the Time it was ſigned, own and acknowledge the Prince of *Orange* as King of *Great Britain*, without any Difficulty, Limitation, Condition, or Reſerve.

But after the Preliminaries were ſettled, the Death of the King of *Sweden*, the Mediator, and the Succeſſion of *Charles* XII, a Minor, to his Throne, occaſioned ſome Delay in the Negotiations. This Obſtruction, however, was ſoon removed, by the Regency of that Kingdom, who ſent a new Commiſſion to their Ambaſſador, M. *de Lillienroot*, who by his prudent Regulations much forwarded the Conferences. For he enjoin'd, that to carry on the Treaty with the greater Eaſe, all Precedency ſhould be laid aſide, and the Titles of Princes ſhould be of no Conſequence.

The Ceremonial being ſettled, the Baron appointed the 9th Day of *May* for beginning the Conferences. *Ryſwick-Houſe*, the Place of Meeting, was found ſo convenient on this Occaſion, that it ſeem'd as if built on Purpoſe for the Seat of a Treaty. It was divided into three grand Apartments, which, though all ſeparate, had yet a Communication with one another. The Ambaſſadors of the Allies had one Side allotted them, and thoſe of *France* the other; the Mediator's Office being in the Middle between both. They had

had all different Avenues, ſo as not to obſtruct one another in paſſing backwards and forwards.

The Names of their Excellencies the Ambaſſadors, Plenipotentiaries, publick Miniſters, Envoys, &c. that aſſembled at the Congreſs of the general Peace, at the Palace of Ryſwick, *called* Newburg-Houſe.

England.

THOMAS Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal of *England*, Privy-Councillor to his *Britannick* Majeſty, one of the Lords Juſtices of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, Principal Extraordinary Ambaſſador and Plenipotentiary of the Treaties of Peace.

Edward Viſcount *Villiers* of *Dartford*, Knight Marſhal of *England*, Envoy Extraordinary from his *Britannick* Majeſty to the States-General, and one of the Lords Juſtices for the Kingdom of *Ireland*, Extraordinary Ambaſſador at the Treaties of Peace.

Robert Lord *Lexington*, one of the Gentlemen of his Majeſty's Bed-chamber, and his Extraordinary Envoy to his Imperial Majeſty, Ambaſſador Plenipotentiary at the Treaties of Peace.

Sir

Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, Knight, Privy-Councillor to his Majeſty, Keeper of the Records, and Member of Parliament, Extraordinary Ambaſſador and Plenipotentiary at the Treaties of Peace.

Mr. MATTHEW PRIOR, Gentleman of the King's Bed-chamber, and nominated principal Secretary of *Ireland*, Secretary to the Embaſſy for the Peace.

Bavaria.

The Baron *de Prielmeyer*. Monſ. *Reichard* his Secretary.

Brandenburgh.

Monſ. *de Smettau*, Monſ. *de Denkelman*, and Monſ. *Charles Adolph* Secretary.

Brunſwick-Lunenburg-Hanover.

Baron *Bothmar*, and M. *Stambke* Secretary.

Cologn.

Baron *de Mean.*

Denmark.

Chriſtian Sigifred de Pleſſen, Lord of *Parin* and *Houkendorf*; *Chriſtian de Lent*, Lord of *Sarlhauſſen*; Meſſ. *Pauweſe* and *Vernekren* Secretaries.

Emperor.

The Count *de Kaunitz*, the Count *de Straatman* and *Bearbach*, and Baron *de Seilern*; M. *Hayeck* Secretary.

France.

Monſ. *de Harlay*, Lord *de Boneuil*; Monſ. *de Verjus*, Count *de Cercy*; Monſ. *de Caillieres*, Lord of *Caillieres.*

Mentz.

Mentz.

The Baron *de Schonborn.*

Palatinate.

The Count *de Veehlen.*

Spain.

Don Franciſco Bernardo de Quiros, the Count *de Tirimont,* and Monſ. *Brulé* Secretary.

Sweden.

Charles Bonde, Count *de Biærnæce; Nicholas* Baron *de Lillienroot; Charles* Baron *de Friſendorf* Secretary.

Saxony.

Baron *de Boſcu,* and Monſ. *Kerchner* Secretary.

The States-General.

James Borel, Lord of *Duynbeeck;* Penſionary *Heinſius; Everhard de Weede,* Lord of *Dyckvelt;* Monſ. *William de Haaren;* Monſ. *Bruyninx* Secretary.

For the Empire.

Triers.

Baron *Leyen,* Lord of *Saffig.*

Auſbourg.

John Chriſtopher de Dierheim, Councillor.

Auſtria.

Francis Rodolph, Baron of *Helden.*

Baden-Baden.

Charles Ferdinand, Baron *Phitterſdorf.*

Bremen

Bremen and *Deux-Ponts.*

Monſ. *Snoilſky*, Councillor to the King of *Sweden.*

Brunſwick-Lunenburg.

Monſ. *Huneken* Reſident.

Brunſwick and *Wolfenbuttel.*

Baron *Frederic de Steinbourg.*

Brunſwick, Lunenbourg, Zell, and *Wolfenbuttel.*

Monſ. *Seigel* Reſident.

Cologn.

Monſ. *Harman Joſeph Bullenger.*

Denmark, for *Holſtein.*

Monſ. *Detlef Nicholas de Laweneton.*

Egmont.

Monſ. *Michael de Ghillet*, Lord of *Teppen.*

Emperor.

The Count *de Averſberg*, Chamberlain.

Franconia.

Baron *Wolfgang Philip de Schrottenberg.*

Francfort.

Monſ. *John James Muller*, and Dr. *John Melchior Lucius.*

Hambourg.

Monſ. *de Boſtel*, Councillor and Syndic.

Hanau.

Monſ. *F. C. de Eccleſheim.*

Heſſe-Caſſel.

The Baron *de Goretz.*

Hildeſheim.

Monſ. *Charles Paul de Zimmermans.*

Leige.

Leige.

Monſ. *Norf*, Reſident at the *Hague.*

Lorrain.

Baron *Claudius Francis* Canon, and Baron *Joſeph le Begue.*

Lubeck.

Monſ. *George Randau*, Provoſt and Syndic.

Mentz.

Monſ. *Ignatius Anthony Ottin*, and Monſ. *George William Moll.*

Munſter.

The Baron *de Plettenbourg de Lenhauſen.*

Nemours, Ducheſs of,

Monſ. *Bourret*, Councillor and Treaſurer.

Orleans, Duke of,

Monſ. the Abbot *Thejeu.*

Palatine Neubourg.

Monſ. *John Henry Hetterman.*

Portugal.

Monſ. *Pacieco*, Envoy to the States.

Rhine, Upper.

Monſ. *de Savigny.*

Salm.

Monſ. *d'Uſling.*

Savoy.

Monſ. *Philibert de la Tour*, Baron of *Bourdeaux.*

Monſ. *Francis de Prichignono*, Count *de Caſtellengo.*

Saxe-Colbourg.

Monſ. the Baron *de Hagen.*

Saxe-

Saxe-Gotha.

Monſ. *d'Aveman.*

Straſbourg, Biſhop of,

Monſ. *Herman de Halveren.*

Suabia.

Monſ. *Frederick de Durheimb*, and Monſ. *de Kulpis.*

Suabia, Prelates and Deputies of,

Monſ. *Anthony Euſebius*, Baron of *Walden.*

Tremouille, Prince of,

Monſ. *John Gabriel de Sanginiere*, Lord of *Charauſac.*

Treves,

Monſ. *John Henry Keyſervelt.*

Teutonic Order.

Monſ. *Charles de Loe*, Baron of *Weſſen*, and Monſ. *Victor de Beughern.*

Wetteravia, Counts of,

Monſ. *Charles Otton*, Count of *Solms.*

Wirtemberg.

Monſ. *Anthony Gunther de Heſſen.*

Wirtzbourg.

Monſ. *John-Conrad-Philip Ignatius*, Baron *de Tatton.*

Order of the firſt Meeting.

On the appointed Day, the Baron of *Lillienroot*, Ambaſſador of *Sweden*, and Mediator, entered the Palace at half an Hour after three o'Clock, paſſing over the middle Bridge, and through the Great Gate of the Palace. He was in a Coach with ſix Horſes, accompanied by two Gentlemen, who,

who, as well as himſelf, were in Mourning for the late King.

The Baron of *Preilmeyer*, Ambaſſador and Plenipotentiary of the Elector of *Bavaria*, arrived about four o'Clock in a Coach with ſix Horſes, having his Son and two Gentlemen with him. Soon after came Meſſieurs *Boreel*, *Dyckvelt*, and *Van Haaren*, Ambaſſadors and Plenipotentiaries of the States-General. They, and their Gentlemen, were all in a Coach with ſix Horſes. The Emperor's Ambaſſador arrived next with five Coaches, each drawn by ſix Horſes; and three others, with two Horſes each. In the two firſt Coaches were M. *Hayeck*, Secretary of the Embaſſy, with the other Secretaries and Gentlemen of their Houſhold. In the third Coach, which was Count *Kaunitz*'s, he rid himſelf, with Count *Straatman* and the Baron of *Seilern* his Aſſociates. The other Coaches were filled with Count *Kaunitz*'s two Sons, and other *German* Noblemen and Gentlemen, all ſplendidly attended. The King of *Spain*'s Ambaſſadors came up a little after, in two Coaches with ſix Horſes. In the firſt was *Don Bernard de Quiros*, and the Count *de Tirimont*, attended by ſix Horſemen; and in the ſecond were their Gentlemen. Theſe were followed by the Ambaſſadors of *England*, having two Coaches with ſix Horſes

Horſes each. The Lords *Pembroke* and *Villiers* rode in the firſt, and Mr. PRIOR, Secretary of the Embaſſy, in the ſecond, with the other Secretaries and Gentlemen.

After theſe followed the Ambaſſadors of the ſeveral Princes of the Empire, who all arrived in leſs than a Quarter of an Hour's Time, between four o'Clock and a Quarter after it. The Ambaſſadors of *France* came at three Quarters paſt four, with three Coaches drawn by ſix Horſes each. Monſ. *de Harlay*, the Count *de Crecy*, and M. *de Caillieres*, with M. *Harley*, Councillor of State, were in the firſt; a Gentleman on Horſeback riding before them. The two other Coaches were filled with Gentlemen. Theſe Ambaſſadors entered by the third Bridge, which led to the left End of the Palace; as thoſe of the Allies had entered by that on the Right, according to the eſtabliſh'd Form.

All theſe Ambaſſadors being introduced by M. *Roſenboam*, the States-General's Agent, they continued the Aſſembly till after Seven; during which Time they dilivered their Commiſſions to the Mediator, who was in the middle Hall. They all retired about half an Hour after Seven, the Emperor's Ambaſſadors firſt, and thoſe of *France* laſt; tho' it was before agreed, that this ſhould be looked upon as immaterial,

terial, and not to be drawn into any Conſequence.

The ſecond Meeting was on the 11th of *May*, at Ten in the Morning, when they ſat till Two in the Afternoon, and agreed that their Conferences, for the Future, ſhould be held twice a Week; on *Wedneſdays*, at Nine in the Morning, and on *Saturdays*, at Four in the Afternoon; which was exactly obſerved during the whole Congreſs. Reſolution of the ſecond Meeting.

It would be foreign to our preſent Purpoſe, to give a Journal of all the Tranſactions of this Aſſembly, or to inſert all the particular Articles of Peace that were made between the ſeveral Powers concerned on the one Side, and the *French* King on the other. They make a Volume of themſelves, which it is not difficult to procure. I will only take the Heads of thoſe which regard *England*, and obſerve in general, that the Imperialiſts and *Spaniards* diſcovered a Backwardneſs to come into the Terms ſtipulated for them; but were induced however to ſign the Peace, for fear of being abandoned by the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, who ſuffered the *French*, during the Treaty, to take *Aeth* in *Flanders*, and *Barcelona* in *Spain*.

The Articles between *Great Britain* and *France* were fourteen in Number; Articles that regard *England*.

the moſt material of which were, "That "all Offences, Injuries, and Damages, "ſhould be mutually forgiven: That the "King of *France*, on his Royal Word "and Faith, would not countenance or "ſupport any Conſpiracies againſt the "King of *Great Britain:* That there "ſhould be free Commerce and Naviga- "tion between the Subjects of both Mo- "narchs: That all Countries, Iſlands, "Forts, and Colonies, which had been "taken on either Side during the War, "ſhould be reſtored: That, to prevent "future Contention, all Ships, Merchan- "dizes, and other moveable Goods, which "may be taken on either Side, in ſuch "Latitudes, and in ſo many Days after "the Publication of the Peace as are "ſeverally ſpecified, ſhould remain to "the Captors: That in caſe of a future "Rupture, ſix Months ſhould be allowed "by either Prince, for the Subjects of "the other to withdraw their Effects: "That the Principality of *Orange*, and "all other Lands belonging to the King "of *Great Britain* as Prince of *Orange*, "ſhould be reſtored him with the Intereſt "due."

A remarkable Particular.

This Treaty was ſigned by the Plenipotentaries on the 20th of *February*, *N. S.* a little before Midnight, and ratified by King WILLIAM on the 25th of the ſame Month,

Month, and by the King of *France* on the 3d of *October*. It appears however, that before this Ratification on the Part of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, a Difficulty was ſtarted by the *French* Ambaſſadors, on the King of *Great Britain*'s uſing the Words *Rex Franciæ*; which occaſioned a Warrant from his Majeſty to his Plenipotentiaries, for omitting the aforeſaid Title, provided they could find that it had been omitted in any former Treaty. But as the Date of the Warrant is poſterior to that of the *French* King's Ratification, it ſeems as if the Omiſſion was not inſiſted on at the Court of *France*, and that no Conceſſion was made in Conſequence of this Warrant. However, as the Original is in our Hands, and was found among Mr. PRIOR's Papers, we ſhall inſert it here as a valuable Relick, which may deſerve a Mention in future Hiſtories.

William R.

Inſtructions for our Right Truſty and Right Well-beloved Couſin and Counciller, Thomas *Earl of* Pembroke *and* Montgomery, *Keeper of our Privy Seal: Our Right Truſty and Well-beloved Couſin* Ed-

ward *Viſcount* Villiers, *our Envoy Extraordinary to the States General, and Plenipotentiary at the Congreſs at the* Hague: *Our Right Truſty and Well-beloved Councillor* Robert *Lord* Lexington, *our Envoy Extraordinary to the Emperor of* Germany; *and our Right Truſty and Well-beloved Councillor Sir* Joſeph Williamſon, *Knight; Our Ambaſſadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiaries for the Treaty of a general Peace, between us jointly with our Allies, and the moſt Chriſtian King. Given at our Court at* Dieren *this 15th Day of* October 1697, *in the ninth Year of our Reign.*

WHEREAS we are given to underſtand by a Letter from MATTHEW PRIOR, Eſq; of the 14th Inſtant, written by your Order, that the *French* Ambaſſadors had excepted againſt the Style of *Rex Franciæ*, in the Inſtrument of Ratification of the late Treaty of Peace under the Great Seal of *England*, which you offered to exchange with them, declaring withal that they would be ſatisfied with the ſaid Ratification, as it is now worded, provided you declared that it ſhould be changed if it be found otherwiſe in the Ratification of the Treaty of *Breda*, and other Treaties made ſince:

And

And we having already directed you to declare that former Precedents ſhould govern in that Particular: We are well pleaſed, that if the Ambaſſadors of *France* be not already come to an Agreement with you concerning the Style of the ſaid Ratification, you do declare unto them in our Name, that in Caſe they do accept of the Ratification, the ſaid Inſtrument ſhall be changed, if the Style be found otherwiſe in the Ratification of the Treaty of *Breda*, and of other Treaties made ſince; provided the ſaid Treaties be underſtood to be ſuch as have been made and ratified under the Great Seal of *England* before the Abdication of the late King *James*, or our taking Poſſeſſion of the Government of that Kingdom. And for ſo doing, this ſhall be your Warrant.

W. R.

Omiſſions in the Treaty of *Ryſwick*.

There are two remarkable Omiſſions in this Treaty of *Ryſwick*, that of the Intereſt of King JAMES on the Part of the King of *France*, and that of the Proteſtant Intereſt on the Part of King WILLIAM. LEWIS had ſolemnly promiſed, in an open Declaration to all *Europe*, that he would never lay down his Arms till he had reſtored King JAMES to his Throne: But the great Loſſes he had ſuſ-

tained during a long and expenſive War, obliged him to alter his Reſolution in ſo unexpected a Manner, as to occaſion the Publication of a Manifeſto by the abdicated Prince, wherein he complained of the Injuſtice done him. WILLIAM, on the other Hand, had declared himſelf the Protector of the *French* Refugees; yet never inſiſted on the Reſtoration of their Eſtates, and the free Uſe of their Religion in their own Country.

Lord *Portland*'s Embaſſy to *France*, and his Character.

Soon after the Concluſion of the Peace, King WILLIAM nominated the Earl of *Portland* to be his Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the Court of *France*. Mr. PRIOR was appointed Secretary to this Embaſſy, which was ſhort, and rather a Matter of Ceremony than Buſineſs. This Nobleman, who was a Native of *Holland*, and had been Page to the King when Prince of *Orange*, by his aſſiduous Fidelity had raiſed himſelf into the higheſt Favour. His Majeſty made him a Peer of *England*, gave him the Garter, and threw away ſuch Grants of Lands upon him, as obliged the Parliament to interpoſe, and put a Stop to them. He gave him alſo the entire Government of *Scotland*, made him a Lieutenant-General, firſt Lord of the Bedchamber, and Privy-purſe. But as the Situation of Favourites is always precarious, he ſaw himſelf ſupplanted by the

the Earl of *Albemarle*, another *Dutchman*, who had alſo been a Page. The growing Favour of this Rival had for ſome Time alarmed him, and was the Reaſon that he went on this Embaſſy with Reluctance: And indeed his Jealouſy was not ill-founded; for *Albemarle* ſo prevailed in his Abſence, that he obliged him, by ſeveral little Affronts, to lay down all his Employments. After this he was never more in Favour, though the King always ſhewed an Eſteem for him.

Lord *Jerſey*'s Embaſſy to *France*, and his Character.

Edward Lord *Villiers*, late Envoy Extraordinary to the States-General, and one of the Plenipotentiaries at the Treaty of *Ryſwick*, having been created Earl of *Jerſey* for his many and faithful Services, was now appointed Ambaſſador to the *French* Court, in about two Months after the Earl of *Portland* had made his public Entry. Mr. PRIOR continued in his Office of Secretary under this Nobleman, with whom he afterwards joined in impeaching the Partition Treaty, tho' both the one and the other was deeply concerned in the Management of that Affair. But I ſhall conſider their Conduct, in this Particular, more fully in another Place. Thus much is certain, that Mr. PRIOR was always ſtrongly attach'd to my Lord *Jerſey*, of whoſe Integrity and Ability he had a very high Opinion. He

has paid him a * Compliment upon his fine Taſte, which ſufficiently confutes the Calumny of a † certain Author, "That the "Earl of *Jerſey* went through all the "great Offices of the Kingdom, with a "very ordinary Underſtanding; was em-"ployed by one of the greateſt Kings "that ever was, in Affairs of the greateſt "Conſequence, and yet was a Man of a "weak Capacity". Is it probable that an Author of Mr. PRIOR's nice Diſcernment, would have ſo far hazarded his own Reputation, as to make that Judgment the Standard of what was exquiſitely fine, which had nothing in it more than common? If Mr. PRIOR was an *intire Creature* of my Lord *Jerſey*'s, as the ſame Author invidiouſly affirms, it was owing to the Deference he paid to his good Senſe, and not merely to ſupport him by his Advice, without being engaged by his Merit. But this by the Way only.

Lord *Manchester*'s Embaſſy to *Venice*, and his Character.

About the ſame Time that Lord *Portland* was ſent to *Paris*, the Earl of *Manchester* was diſpatch'd to *Venice*. That Republick was the laſt of the conſiderable Powers in *Europe*, not engaged in the War againſt us, which would not acknowledge King WILLIAM's Title. But after Admiral *Ruſſel* had appeared with a Fleet in

* In the Prologue of *Paulo Purganti*.
† Mr. *Macky*, in his Memoirs, *&c.*

the

the *Mediterranean*, and the Concluſion of a general Peace ſeemed unavoidably at hand, they deputed a ſolemn Embaſſy to *London*, to compliment his Majeſty. It was in Return of this Embaſſy that the Earl of *Mancheſter* was ſent; a Nobleman, who had always been zealous in the Cauſe of Liberty, and, at his own Expence, had accompany'd the King into *Ireland* as a Volunteer, with a very handſome Retinue; was at the Battle of the *Boyne*, and the Siege of *Limerick*; for which generous Service, after the Reduction of that Kingdom, he was made Captain of the Band of Yeomen. He reſided at *Venice* during the ſucceſſive Embaſſies of the Earls of *Portland* and *Jerſey* at the Court of *France*, and then ſucceeded the latter at that Court, where he continued * much longer than either of his Predeceſſors, and at a Time that will give us frequent Occaſion to mention him, in the ſubſequent Sheets. To *France.*

Mr. PRIOR remained at *Paris* till after Lord *Mancheſter*'s Audiences were over, and then came to *England*, to ſerve again under the Earl of *Jerſey*, who was advanced to be one of the principal Secretaries of State, upon the Reſignation of the Duke of *Shrewsbury*. His Correſ- Mr. *Prior* in *England.*

* From *May* 1699, to *September* 1701.

pondence

pondence during this long Reſidence in *France*, was not found among his Papers, which probably was owing to the Proſecutions that ſoon after followed, againſt thoſe who had projected the Treaties of Partition. But we have one remarkable Story of him at this Time, which muſt not be here omitted, as it contains an Inſtance of his delicate Satire, and gallant Loyalty to his Maſter.

His Anſwer to a *French* Courtier.

One of the Officers of the *French* King's Houſhold ſhewing him the Royal Apartments and Curioſities at *Verſailles*, eſpecially the Paintings of *Le Brun*, wherein the Victories of LEWIS XIV was beautifully deſcribed, ask'd him, "Whether King WILLIAM's Actions "were alſo to be ſeen in his Palace". "No "Sir, anſwered Mr. PRIOR; the Monu- "ments of my Maſter's Actions are to "be ſeen every where but in his own "Houſe". It was hardly poſſible, in ſo few Words, to pay a finer Compliment to King WILLIAM, and at the ſame Time, to paſs a juſter and more poignant Cenſure upon the Vanity of the Grand Monarch, of whoſe Actions there were more Monuments in his own Palaces, and in the Works of *Boileau*, than in the whole World beſides.

Though we have not any Remains of Mr. PRIOR's preliminary Tranſactions to the

the firſt Partition-Treaty, yet as it is probable from the Office he was in, that ſome of the Management of it muſt have lain upon him, I ſhall here give a ſhort Account of that Affair, and of the Change that immediately followed it, which diſconcerted all the Meaſures then taken, and gave riſe to a ſecond Treaty under the ſame Name. Mr. PRIOR was concerned in this alſo, tho' perhaps againſt his Judgment even at that Time; as he, with many others, might foretel the fatal Conſequences that enſued. But doubtleſs King WILLIAM, who drove on theſe Treaties ſeemingly againſt the Opinion of his ableſt Miniſters, was convinced in his own Mind, that they were the only Means then left of preſerving the Balance of Power.

Occaſion of the firſt Partition Treaty.

* *Europe* had continued, for ſome Time after the Peace of *Ryſwick*, in a State of Tranquillity: But the Health of the King of *Spain* declining very faſt, it was juſtly apprehended, that he would die without Iſſue. For this Reaſon the *French* King kept up a very conſiderable Army, and made all the neceſſary Preparations for ſending out great Numbers of Men of War and Gallies, in order to ſeize upon *Spain* as ſoon as the preſent Monarch was

* *Cole*'s Memoirs, p. 29, *&c.*

dead.

dead. His *Britannick* Majeſty, who beheld this, and knew the Intrigues and Pretences of *France*, knew alſo that his own Subjects would be averſe to a new War, which could not be carried on without many additional Taxes, after having found the laſt ſo very burthenſome. He ſaw himſelf, and all *Europe* in Danger, without any faithful Alliance but that of the *Dutch*. The Emperor had much offended him; becauſe he had obſtructed, to the utmoſt of his Power, the Accommodation at *Ryſwick*; and now, in a Manner openly, laid Claim to the whole Monarchy of *Spain*, which he hoped to unite with his other Dominions. All our Troops, in thoſe very dark and dangerous Times, were reduced to 7000 Men: And many Members had delared in Parliament, that they thought even this too great a Number. Thus was the *French* King left in a Condition to execute almoſt any Thing: It was in his Power to take Poſſeſſion of the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy, in the various Parts of the World, before any Prince but the Emperor, whom he had little Reaſon to fear, could oppoſe him. The Party of the late King, upon this Appearance of an approaching Rupture, conceived new Hopes. The States-General were averſe to another War; yet apprehended it unavoidable, if the King

of

of *Spain* ſhould die without Children, unleſs it was timely prevented by a Treaty of Settlement. The Houſe of *Bourbon*, they knew, was an over-grown Power already, and they ſaw Danger in taking Part with the Emperor againſt it; becauſe the Fund for carrying on a War, of which the Emperor was to have the Advantage, could be raiſed only in *England* and *Holland*. Beſides, if the Emperor ſhould ſucceed in his Aims, they might be even in greater Danger from him than from *France* itſelf, without a Barrier againſt him in the *Netherlands*. During this State of Confuſion, in which all *Europe* ſeemed to be involved, King WILLIAM wrote the following Letter to the Lord Chancellor *Somers*, with his own Hand.

His Majeſty's Letter to Lord SOMERS.

Loo, Aug. 15, 1698.

King *William*'s Letter.

I Imparted to you before I left *England*, that in *F.* * there was expreſſed to my Lord *P.* † ſome Inſinuation to come to an Agreement with us, concerning the Succeſſion of the King of § *Sp.* Since which C. *Tall.* ‖ has mentioned it to me,

* *France.* † *Portland.* § *Spain.* ‖ Count *Tallard.*

and

and has made Propoſitions, the Particulars of which my Lord *P.* will write to *Vernon*, to whom I have given Orders not to communicate them to any other beſides yourſelf, and to leave to your Judgment to whom elſe you ſhould think proper to impart them; to the End, that I might know your Opinion upon ſo important an Affair, and which requires the greateſt Secrecy. If it be fit this Negotiation ſhould be carried on, there is no Time to be loſt; and you muſt ſend me the full Powers, under the Great Seal, with the Names in blank, to treat with C. *Tall.* I believe this may be done ſecretly, that none but you and *Vernon*, and thoſe to whom you ſhall have communicated it, may have Knowledge of it: So that the Clerks who are to write the Warrant, and the Full Powers, may not know what it is. According to all Intelligence, the King of *Sp.* cannot out-live the Month of *October*, and the leaſt Accident may carry him off every Day. I received your Letter of the 9th. Since my Lord *Wharton* cannot at this Time leave *England*, I muſt think of ſome other to ſend Ambaſſador into *Sp.* If you can think of any one proper, let me know it, and be always aſſured of my Friendſhip.

W. R.

His

His Lordſhip's ANSWER.

Tunbridge-Wells, Aug. 28, 1698.

HAVING your Majeſty's Permiſſion to try if the Waters would contribute to the Re-eſtabliſhment of my Health, I was juſt got to this Place when I had the Honour of your Commands. I thought the beſt Way of executing them would be to communicate to my Lord *Orf.* * Mr. *Mont.* † and the D. of *Shrew.* § (who before I left *London* had agreed upon a Meeting about that Time) the Subject of my Lord *P*'s Letters; at the ſame Time letting them know how ſtrictly your Majeſty required, that it ſhould remain an inviolable Secret.

Since then Mr. *M.* and Mr. Secretary are come down hither; and, upon their whole Diſcourſe, three Things have principally occurred, and are humbly ſuggeſted to your Majeſty.

1. That the entertaining a Propoſal of this Nature, ſeems to be attended with very many ill Conſequences, if the *F.* did not act a ſincere Part. But we were ſoon at Eaſe as to any Apprehenſion of this Sort; being fully aſſured your Majeſty would not act but with the utmoſt Nicety, in an Affair wherein the Glory, and

* *Orford.* † *Montague.* § *Shrewſbury.*

the

the Safety of *Europe* were ſo highly concerned.

2. The ſecond Thing conſidered was, the very ill Proſpect of what was like to happen upon the Death of the King of *Sp.* in caſe nothing was done, previouſly, towards the providing againſt that Accident, which ſeemed probably to be very near; the King of *F.* having ſo great a Force, in ſuch a Readineſs, that he was in a Condition to take Poſſeſſion of *Sp.* before any other Prince could be ready to make a Stand. Your Majeſty is the beſt Judge, whether this be the Caſe, who are ſo perfectly informed of the Circumſtances of Parts abroad. But ſo far as relates to *England*, it would be Want of Duty not to give Your Majeſty this clear Account, That there is a Deadneſs and Want of Spirit in the Nation univerſally, ſo as not at all to be diſpoſed to the Thought of entering into a new War, and that they ſeem to be tired out with Taxes, to a Degree beyond what was diſcerned, till it appeared upon the Occaſion of the late Elections. This is the Truth of the Fact, upon which Your Majeſty will determine what Reſolutions are proper to be taken.

3. That which remained was, the Conſideration what would be the Condition of *Europe*, if the Propoſal took Place. Of this we thought ourſelves little capa-

ble

ble of judging: But it ſeemed, that if *Sicily* was in the Hands of the *F.* they would be entirely Maſters of the *Levant* Trade; that if they were poſſeſſed of the *Final*, and thoſe Ports on that Side, whereby *Milan* would be entirely ſhut out from Relief, or any other Commerce, that Dutchy would be of little Signification in the Hands of any Prince; and that if the King of *F.* was in Poſſeſſion of any Part of *Guipuſcoa*, which is mentioned in the Propoſal, beſides the Ports he would have in the Ocean, it does ſeem he would have as eaſy a Way of invading *Sp.* on that Side, as he now has on the Side of *Catalonia.* But it is not to be hoped, that *F.* will quit its Pretences to ſo great a Succeſſion, without conſiderable Advantages; and we are all aſſured your Majeſty will reduce the Terms as low as can be done, and make them, as far as is poſſible in the preſent Circumſtances of Things, ſuch as may be ſome Foundation of the future Quiet of the Kingdom; which all your Subjects cannot but be convinced is your true Aim.

If it could be brought to paſs, that *England* might be ſome Way a Gainer by this Tranſaction, whether it was by the Elector of *Bavaria* (who is the Gainer by your Majeſty's Interpoſition in this Treaty) his coming to an Agreement to

let us have ſome Trade to the *Spaniſh* Plantations, or in any other Manner, it would wonderfully indear your Majeſty to your *Engliſh* Subjects.

It does not appear, in caſe this Negotiation ſhould proceed, what is to be done on your Part, in order to make it take Place; whether any more be required than that the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ſit ſtill, and *F.* itſelf is to ſee it executed; and if that be ſo, what Security ought to be expected, that, if by our being neuter, the *French* be ſucceſsful, they will confine themſelves to the Terms of the Treaty, and not attempt to make farther Advantages of their Succeſs.

I have put the Seal to the Commiſſion, without expecting the Return of the Warrant. The Commiſſion is written by Mr. Secretary, and no Creature has the leaſt Knowledge of any Thing, beſides the Perſons already named. I pray God give your Majeſty Honour and Succeſs in all your Undertakings.

I am, with the utmoſt Duty and Reſpect,

SIR,

Your Majeſty's moſt

Dutiful, and moſt

Obedient Subject and Servant,

SOMERS.

It appears by his Majeſty's Letter, that the firſt Propoſal of this Treaty was made by the *French* King to the Earl of *Portland*, while that Nobleman was in *France:* And it was probably in order to make King WILLIAM come the more readily into it, without ſuſpecting any latent Subterfuge, that he endeavoured to dazzle his Majeſty's Eyes by the extraordinary Reception he gave to his Ambaſſador, and the Marks of his Eſteem and Affection which he ſhew'd him in ſeveral Letters. And now, that his Sincerity might be the more conſpicuous, he orders his own Ambaſſador, Count *Tallard*, to make the ſame Propoſitions to the King in Perſon, who readily receives them; though Lord *Somers*, and thoſe whom he conſulted in *England*, were not ſo well ſatisfied of the *French* King's Intentions; as appears by ſeveral Expreſſions in his Lordſhip's Anſwer.

The Treaty ſigned.

But, tho' his Majeſty ſent over for Advice, he did not ſtay to receive it. Lord *Somers*'s Letter bears date *Auguſt* the 28th, and on the 29th of *Auguſt* N. S. ſeveral Days before his Majeſty received it, a Treaty was concluded to the following Purport, and ſigned by the Earl of *Portland* and Sir *Joſeph Williamſon* on the Part of *England*, Count *Tallard* on the Part

of *France*, and by eight Plenipotentiaries of the States-General.

Articles of it.

" I. That the Peace of *Ryſwick* ſhould " be confirmed.

" II. That in Conſideration of the ill " State of the King of *Spain*'s Health, " and for preſerving the public Peace, in " caſe the ſaid Prince ſhould die without " Iſſue, the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Si-* " *cily*, with the Places then depending " upon the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, ſituated " on the Coaſt of *Tuſcany*, or the adja- " cent Iſlands of St. *Stephano*, *Porto-Her-* " *cole*, *Orbitello*, *Telamone*, *Porto-Longo*, " *Piombino*, the Marquiſate of *Final*, " the Province of *Guipuſcoa*, particularly " the Towns of *Fontarabia*, and St. *Se-* " *baſtian*, and more eſpecially *Fort-Paſſage*, " and likewiſe all Places on the *French* " Side of the *Pyrenees*, or the other " Mountains of *Navarre*, *Alava*, or " *Biſcay*, on the Side of the Province of " *Guipuſcoa*, with all the Ships and Gal- " lies, and other Appurtenances belong- " ing to the ſaid Gallies, ſhould be given " to the Dauphin, in Conſideration of " his Right.

" III. That the Crown of *Spain*, and " the other Kingdoms and Places, both " within and without *Europe*, ſhould " deſcend to the Electoral Prince of *Ba-*

" *varia*,

" *varia*, of whom his Father, the Ele-
" ctor, was to be Guardian and Admi-
" niſtrator, till he came of Age.

" IV. That the Dutchy of *Milan*
" ſhould be allotted to the Archduke
" *Charles*, the Emperor's ſecond Son."

This Treaty was to be communicated to the Emperor, and the Elector of *Bavaria*, by the King of *Great Britain* and the States-General; and if they did not agree to it, then the Portion of the Party not agreeing, ſhould remain in Sequeſtration, till Things could be accommodated. And in caſe the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria* ſhould come to inherit his Share, and yet die before his Father, without Iſſue, the Elector was to ſucceed him in thoſe Dominions, and his Heir after him. Likewiſe the Dutchy of *Milan*, upon the Archduke's Refuſal of it, was to be ſequeſter'd, and govern'd by the Prince of *Vaudemont*, and after him by his Son.

French Intrigues at the Court of *Spain*.

While the *French* King was thus decoying King WILLIAM into the Treaty of Partition, merely to amuſe him for the Preſent, the Marquis *d' Harcourt*, the *French* Ambaſſador at *Madrid*, was labouring by all Manner of Means, to pave the Way to the *Spaniſh* Throne for a Prince of the Houſe of *Bourbon*. But the Queen of *Spain*, who was nearly related to the King of the *Romans*, and en-

tirely in the Intereſt of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, by her Vigilance ſo circumvented his Intrigues, that all he could accompliſh for ſome time, was to engage Cardinal *Portocarrero* in the Intereſt of *France*. However, in the mean time, the *French* ſtrengthened themſelves in the North, by a Treaty with the Crown of *Sweden*; and 60,000 of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's beſt Troops were marched to the Frontiers of *Catalonia* and *Navarre*. Ships of War, likewiſe, and Gallies, were ſent into ſeveral Ports of *Spain*. A great Camp was formed at *Compeigne*, under the Pretence of inſtructing the Duke of *Burgundy* in the Art of War; but deſign'd, in reality, to make a ſudden Irruption, upon the firſt Occaſion, into the *Spaniſh Netherlands*. From theſe Circumſtances, and what actually followed upon the King of *Spain*'s Death, we may learn how juſt were the Precautions, and how ſalutary the Counſels, which the Lord *Somers* laid before his Majeſty, tho' they came too late to take Effect. But the expected Revolution did not happen immediately; for the Recovery of the King of *Spain*, beyond all Appearance of Probability, diſpelled the Fears of one Party for the preſent, and diſappointed the Hopes of the other.

King

King WILLIAM, at the latter End of the Summer, made a Viſit to the Duke of *Zell*; and, at his Return to *Loo*, received one from the Duke of *Bavaria*, who came to pay his Acknowledgments for the Care taken of him in the Treaty of Partition. His Majeſty likewiſe, to his immortal Honour, found Means to put an End to the *Hungarian* War, which had laſted fifteen Years, by ſetting on foot the Conferences at *Carlowitz*, which ended in ſeveral Treaties between the *Imperialiſts*, the *Ruſſians*, the *Poles*, the *Turks*, and the *Venetians*. But arriving at *London* before *Chriſtmas*, he opened a new Parliament, which gave him a great deal of Mortification. They obliged him to reduce his Army, both in *England* and *Ireland*, and to ſend home his *Dutch* Guards, notwithſtanding the great Reluctance his Majeſty expreſſed on this Occaſion: And all this at a Time when, in his Opinion, * "there was great Hazard in "breaking ſuch a Number of the Troops".

King *William* goes into *Germany*, and procures a Peace in *Hungary*.

Is mortified at home.

It might well be ſuppoſed indeed, that neither the Parliament, nor the Privy-Council, ſaw ſo much of the preſent Danger as his Majeſty; becauſe, for Reaſons then ſubſiſting, he made the Partition Treaty a Secret to them both: Yet

* See his Speech at paſſing the Bill 1699.

they could not but apprehend the Power of *France*, in caſe of the King of *Spain*'s Demiſe, though they did not think proper to ſhew it any Regard.

Farther perplexed by his Parliament.

The next Summer his Majeſty, according to Cuſtom, went to *Holland*, and reſided there till near the Time of Parliament. Upon his Return he found this, as well as the preceding, a very troubleſome Seſſion. They reſumed the Grants which his Majeſty had made of the *Iriſh* forfeited Eſtates, and tack'd the Bill for this Reſumption to that for the yearly Supply. They concerted an Addreſs, praying, " That *John* Lord *Somers*, " Lord Chancellor of *England*, ſhould be " removed for-ever from his Majeſty's " Preſence and Councils"; and though this paſſed in the Negative, on Account of Lord *Somers*'s great Services and acknowledged Merit, yet they came to a Reſolution, " That an Addreſs be made " to his Majeſty, that no Perſon who was " not a Native of his Dominions, ex- " cept his Royal Highneſs Prince *George* " of *Denmark*, be admitted to his Ma- " jeſty's Councils in *England* or *Ireland*". This was levell'd chiefly at the two Favourites, the Earls of *Portland* and *Albemarle*, who had been ſucceſſively thought too powerful in Council: And the King had no other Way to avoid its being

being preſented, but by going ſuddenly to the Houſe of Lords, paſſing the Bills that were ready, and putting an End to the Seſſion.

The firſt Partition Treaty was not long in Force; for the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria*, appointed Succeſſor to the King of *Spain*, died during this Seſſion of Parliament. Hereupon Lord *Portland*, ſoon after, began to treat about a new Partition, in Favour of the Archduke *Charles*. The Earl of *Jerſey* was ſent into *France* on this Occaſion, and he and Lord *Portland* were joined in a Commiſſion by his Majeſty, as his Plenipotentiaries, for agitating and concluding a new Treaty. The Negotiations were over by the 15th of *March* (though the Prince died but on the 6th of *February*) and a Treaty was that Day ſigned between the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* on the one Part, and the *French* on the other. The Conditions of it were, The ſecond Treaty of Partition. 1700.

" I. That *Spain*, *Flanders*, and the " *Weſt-Indies*, which by the former Trea- " ty had been allotted to the Prince of " *Bavaria*, ſhould devolve to the Arch- " duke *Charles*, the Emperor's Second " Son.

" II. That *Naples* and *Sicily*, with " the reſt of the *Spaniſh* Provinces on " the Coaſt of *Italy*, as likewiſe the Pro-

" vince

" vince of *Guipuſcoa*, ſhould be aſſigned " to the Dauphin.

" III. That *Lorrain* ſhould be annexed " to *France*, the Dutchy of *Milan* be " conferr'd on the Duke of *Lorrain*, " and the County of *Bitſche* on the Prince " of *Vaudemont*".

The Plan of this new Treaty, in Caſe the former became inſufficient, had been formed before the End of the preceding Year; and the Court of *Madrid*, it appears, ſuſpected ſomewhat of this Nature. His Catholick Majeſty, ſo early as *Auguſt* 1699, did not fail to remonſtrate againſt the Diviſion of his Dominions in his Life-Time: And the following Paper, written in *Spaniſh*, was preſented on this Occaſion to Mr. *Stanhope*, the *Engliſh* Miniſter at the Court of *Spain*, by Don *Antonio de Ubilla*, Secretary of the *Diſpacho Univerſal*.

Memorial of the *Spaniſh* Secretary.

" Don *Antonio de Ubilla* kiſſes the " Hands of Don *Alexander Stanhope*, Envoy Extraordinary of his *Britannic* " Majeſty, and lets him know, that the " King his Maſter having been frequently " informed by his Miniſters in the North, " of the ſtrong Informations, and even " evident Proofs, which they have by " different Advices and Accidents, that " the *Engliſh*, *Hollanders*, and *French*, in

" in Conſequence of what was laſt Year
" concluded and ſtipulated at *Loo*, are
" now again forming new Treaties for
" the Succeſſion to this Crown, and for
" the dividing of it; which Notices have
" been corroborated by other Ways, ſo
" that they are public over all *Europe*;
" it would be againſt his Dignity to diſſem-
" ble, and take no Notice of them. The
" King his Maſter thinks it inexcuſable
" not to oppoſe what might produce ſuch
" irreparable Inconveniences, if it came
" to be put in Execution; and has ordered
" his Miniſters in the Courts of *France*,
" *England*, and *Holland*, to make known
" to thoſe Princes and Governments, the
" juſt Sentiments his Majeſty has of thoſe
" Advices, never heard of before in the
" Life of any King, and more impro-
" per in that of his Majeſty, which con-
" ſiſting at preſent (by the divine Mercy,
" and for our Happineſs) in only thirty-
" eight Years of Age, we may natu-
" rally promiſe ourſelves, and eſpecially
" from the moſt high Providence, that
" he may give his Majeſty the important
" Succeſſion which we hope for from
" him, by the affectionate Prayers and
" Votes of his Vaſſals; it cauſing a juſt
" Wonder and Grief, that they doubt
" before-hand of ſo great a Poſſibility,
" by Reaſon of any Opinions taken up

" from

" from the ſlight Complaints, and the
" Affliction of his Kingdoms and Sub-
" jects, and the Impreſſions that ſeem to
" diſturb the great Tranquillity which we
" now enjoy: When, on the other Hand,
" it is not to be believed from the righ-
" teous and pious Mind of his Majeſty,
" that he lives ſo unmindful of his Ob-
" ligation, and values ſo little the Love
" and Security of his Vaſſals, that if
" God (by his occult and ſovereign Judg-
" ments) would chaſtiſe us, by taking
" away his Life (which we hope he will
" not ſuffer) without granting him the
" Benefit of a Succeſſion, his Affairs will
" be left without a due Reflection on
" what is moſt juſt, and moſt important
" for the public Tranquillity, and ſo that
" no Body ſhall be able to find fault with
" his Juſtice nor his Foreſight. For which
" Reaſons, his Majeſty has ordered his
" aforeſaid Miniſters to make Inſtances,
" and uſe their Diligence to cut off theſe
" Negotiations; weighing the ill Effects
" which they now produce, and what
" their Continuance may produce. And
" that the Complaint of his Majeſty, and
" the Orders he gives to his Miniſters
" abroad, to notify to the Princes at
" whoſe Courts they reſide, may be at the
" ſame Time made public; he has lately
" ordered, that it be made known to the

" Miniſters

" Miniſters here: For this Reaſon does " Don *Antonio de Ubilla* communicate it " to Don *Alexander Stanhope*, by order " of his Maſter, that he may alſo give " Notice to his *Britannic* Majeſty, aſſiſt- " ing with his prudent Repreſentations " this juſt and honeſt Purpoſe; that ſo " the univerſal Quiet may be maintain'd, " and that he may quit the Scandal of " this Negotiation, which it is feared will " be an unhappy Motive of kindling the " voracious Flame of a new War; which " being once lighted, will be difficult to " be extinguiſhed, either by the greateſt " Force, or the moſt dextrous and power- " ful Mediation: And he remains obedient " to Don *Alexander Stanhope* with all " Affection".

Agreeably to what is mentioned in this Paper, a Remonſtrance in *French* was preſented to the Lords Juſtices in *England* on the ſame Head, by the Marquis *de Canales*, Ambaſſador from the King of *Spain*. The Tranſlation of it has been thus printed:

The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador's Remonſtrance.

" That his Catholick Majeſty hav- " ing been informed by evident Proofs, " that his Majeſty King WILLIAM, the " *Hollanders*, and other Powers (in con- " ſequence of what they have treated " and ſtipulated laſt Year at *Loo*) are now " at this Time actually hatching new

" Treaties

" Treaties for the Succeſſion to the Crown " of *Spain*, and (what is moſt deteſtable) " contriving its Diviſion and Repartition; " His Majeſty orders his Extraordinary " Embaſſador reſiding in this Kingdom " to make known to the firſt Lords and " Miniſters of *England*, the juſt Reſent- " ment which his Majeſty has againſt " theſe Proceedings and Operations, ne- " ver before ſeen, nor ever attempted to " be treated of by any Nation in Regard " to the Intereſt of another; and ſtill " leſs, during the Life of a Monarch, " who is of ſo fit an Age to have rea- " ſon to hope (for many Years) a Suc- " ceſſion ſo much wiſhed for by all Na- " tions; who, without a deteſtable Ava- " rice, could not be provok'd to uſurp " and over-turn another Prince's Country.

" That if this was permitted, and " was not contrary to the Law of Na- " ture, no Nation nor Dominion could " be ſafe againſt the Machinations and " Deceits of the Strongeſt and moſt Ma- " licious; whereas Reaſon, and not " Force, confines Nations.

" That if it was permitted to Stran- " gers to take Notice, and to put their " Hands into the Lines of Succeſſion of " Kings and Sovereigns, there would be " no Statutes nor municipal Laws to be " obſerved in the one, nor in the other;

" nor

" nor could any be free from the At-
" tempts of others, and the Crown of
" *England* leſs than any.

" That if we lie watching the Indiſpoſi-
" tions of Sovereigns, no Health would be
" conſtant, no Life ſafe, while the one
" and the other depend on the Hand of
" the Almighty, who regulates Life,
" Death, and Empires.

" That the Impreſſions which one
" Kingdom makes upon the other, to
" tempt the Faith of the Subjects, and
" to excite their Minds to a Riſing, are an
" Offence, and but a Degree leſs than the
" betraying the good Faith which ought
" to be obſerved among Chriſtians, and
" more particularly among Allies and
" Friends.

" That we ought not to preſume that
" any Prince, or Nation, and ſtill leſs
" the King of the *Spaniſh* Nation, is ſo
" negligent, as not to take juſt Meaſures
" againſt Accidents that may happen when
" leaſt thought of, to ſecure the public
" Peace, and the Repoſe of *Europe*,
" which has been the Aim of the King-
" dom and the Nation for ſo many Ages,
" as it is now and will always be.

" That if theſe Proceedings, theſe Ma-
" chinations and Projects are not quickly
" put a Stop to, we ſhall, without doubt,
" ſee a dire and univerſal War over all *Eu-*

" *rope*,

" *rope*, difficult to ſtop even when we " are willing, and moſt ſenſible and " prejudicial to the *Engliſh* Nation, " which has newly tried and felt what " Novelties, and the laſt War have coſt " them. This Matter is ſo worthy of " Reflection and Conſideration, that it " is not doubted but it will be own'd as " ſuch by the Parliament, the Nobility, " and all the *Engliſh* Nation, which has " always been ſo full of Foreſight into " the preſent and future Times.

" The ſame Nation muſt conſider its " particular Intereſts, the Trade and the " Treaties, which ſhe principally has with " the King and the *Spaniſh* Nation; the " Alteration, the Diviſion, and Separa- " tion of which, would of Neceſſity " draw after it conſiderable Prejudices and " Damages; and all this is prevented by " cutting ſhort the Project that is begun, " and not to help on Novelties, that " have from all Times been hurtful to " Empires and Sovereignties.

" That the Extraordinary Ambaſſador " of *Spain* will manifeſt to the Parlia- " ment, when it ſhall be aſſembled, the " juſt Reſentment which he now ex- " preſſes, as his Maſter has cauſed it to " be notified to all the public Miniſters " of the Kings, Princes, and Republics, " that reſide at the Court of *Madrid*".

In

In anſwer to this Memorial, Mr. Secretary *Vernon*, by his Majeſty's Order, wrote a Paper in *French* to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, which was dated the 30th of *September* 1699, and is thus tranſlated.

Secretary *Vernon*'s Paper.

'His Majeſty having ſeen the Paper 'which the Secretary of the Embaſſy of '*Spain* has lately delivered, by order of 'your Excellency, to ſeveral of the Lords 'Juſtices of the Kingdom; His Majeſty 'has found the Contents ſo inſolent and 'ſeditious, that in Reſentment of ſo ex-'traordinary a Proceeding, and which 'can by no Means be juſtified by the 'Law of Nations, He orders that you 'go out of his Dominions preciſely in 'eighteen Days, to be counted from this 'Notification, and that you keep in your 'Houſe, without going out of the Li-'mits of it, till your Departure. I am 'alſo commanded to let you know, that 'theſe are the Orders of His Majeſty, that 'no Writing be any more received from 'you, nor any of your Domeſticks'.

His Excellency Mr. *Stanhope* alſo preſented a Memorial to *Don Antonio de Ubilla*, containing a Complaint of the Marquis *de Canales*'s Proceedings. It was delivered at the *Eſcurial Nov.* 3. N.S. 1699. and is thus rendered into *Engliſh*.

Mr. *Stanhope*'s Memorial.

'Don *Alexander Stanhope*, Envoy Ex-'traordinary of the King of *Great Britain*,

'kiſſes the Hands of Don *Antonio de*
'*Ubilla*, and ſays that he has Orders from
'the King his Maſter, immediately to
'convey to the Royal Knowledge of his
'Catholick Majeſty, the juſt Motive of
'Complaint given him by a Paper, which
'the Secretary of the Marquis *de Canales*,
'by Order of his Maſter, delivered to
'the Lords Juſtices of *England* in *Lon-*
'*don*, of which the adjoined is a true
'Copy, and from whoſe Contents, be-
'ſides the rude and provoking Language,
'it is manifeſt the Deſign of it was to
'ſtir up Sedition in his Kingdoms, by
'appealing to the Parliament and People
'of *England* againſt His Majeſty; which
'is to own them Superiors to the Royal
'Perſon, than which nothing can be
'more abſurd, and contrary to the Con-
'ſtitution of the Government of *England*;
'and is what the ſaid Marquis *de Canales*,
'Ambaſſador from his Catholic Majeſty,
'neither ought, nor could be ignorant of,
'after ſo many Years Reſidence in it.
'Notwithſtanding which, the Paper is
'full of contumelious Language to His
'Majeſty's Perſon, making Uſe of ſeve-
'ral Artifices, of Inſinuations and Threats,
'purpoſely to breed a Miſunderſtanding
'and Diſſention between His Majeſty and
'His Subjects; an Attempt, which no
'ſovereign Prince can tolerate in His Do-
'minions:

'minions: And therefore the King of 'Great Britain, his Maſter, found him-'ſelf neceſſitated to cut off ſhort, as 'ſoon as poſſible, a Miſchief, which by 'the Induſtry of the Marquis, went on 'ſpreading itſelf daily, by ordering he 'ſhould be requiredto go out of His King-'doms: And, finally, the ſaid Paper 'being, both in its Expreſſions and 'Subſtance, by its Example, affrontive to 'the Majeſty and Sacredneſs of all Kings, 'the King of *Great Britain*, his Maſter, 'does not believe it poſſible that the Mar-'quis writ or publiſhed it by Order of 'his Catholic Majeſty; but on the con-'trary, perſuades himſelf, that this his 'Reſentment will be much to his Royal 'Satisfaction, as made for the common 'Cauſe of all Kings: And Don *Alexan-'der Stanhope* hopes, that Don *Antonio 'Ubilla* will paſs all this to the Royal 'Knowledge of his Catholic Majeſty; 'remaining Don *Antonio*'s moſt humble 'and affectionate Servant'.——

Remarks on theſe Papers.

Such an Indignity offered by a Foreign Ambaſſador, to the Court at which he reſided, would no doubt have met with a like Return from any Sovereign in *Europe*, how well-founded ſoever the Allegations it was built on might really be. There is no Room however to queſtion, but many Perſons about His Majeſty, eſpeci-

ally thoſe who afterwards joined in proſecuting the Adviſers of this arbitrary Agreement, were ſatisfied in their Minds, that the *Spaniſh* Complaints, tho' a little too roughly delivered, were not without Reaſon. I mention this to juſtify the inſerting them here, and to ſhew how far they may ſerve for a Vindication of Mr. PRIOR, and the other Patriots who carried on that Proſecution, and who perhaps, by many, may be thought to have acted a little inconſiſtently in that Affair.

But the Partition is no where painted in ſuch lively Colours, nor the Artifices of the *French* Court, in all her Negotiations about this Time, more fully detected and expoſed, than in a Pamphlet that was publiſhed the ſame Year at *Vienna*, and immediately after tranſlated into *Engliſh*, under the Title of *The Fable of the Lion's Share verified, in the pretended Partition of the* Spaniſh *Monarchy*. Whoever was the Author of it, there is no doubt but the Senſe of the Imperial Court, as well as of many neutral Powers, is given therein. I ſhall therefore make from it a very conſiderable Extract, that the Reader may know what thoſe Arguments were, which induced not only moſt of the Courts in *Europe*, but many Subjects of *Great Britain*, otherwiſe well-affected, to diſapprove the Conduct of His *Britannic* Majeſty.

'When

Design of *France* in making the Peace of *Ryſwick.*

'When the *French* Court expreſs'd ſo much Zeal for the Peace of *Ryſwick*, during the higheſt Proſperity of their Arms, 'twas eaſy to foreſee that they were meditating other Conqueſts under the Favour of that Peace, which ſhould be leſs expenſive, and of more Importance than any they could promiſe to themſelves by continuing the War: For to preſume they acted by a Motive of Charity, to give Peace to *Chriſtendom*, as they would have us believe, is altogether inconſiſtent with their preceding Conduct.--They were well informed, that *England* and the United Provinces were much exhauſted; and that the Emperor, having borne the Weight of the *Turkiſh* War for fourteen Years, was no longer able to maintain his Troops upon the *Rhine.* They had put an End to the moſt troubleſome and expenſive Part of the War, by an Agreement with *Savoy:* Yet they were reſolved to have a Peace; they preſs'd it vehemently, and concluded one with Diſadvantage. They had already bought a Peace from the Duke of *Savoy* by reſtoring *Pignerol*, in hopes that his Separation from the Confederates, would facilitate the general one; and in this they ſacrificed their Ally King JAMES, who had put himſelf under their Protection, to their common

'Enemy King WILLIAM, with whom 'they enter'd into private Meaſures for 'a ſtricter Alliance; by virtue of which, 'the undoubted Right of the Emperor 'and his Male Line, to the Succeſſion of '*Spain*, was to be ſacrificed in Requital, 'as appear'd ſoon after.

'That the Peace was diſadvantageous to 'the *French*, is evident by the Obliga-'tion they were under to reſtore ſo many 'Places of Importance, which had coſt 'vaſt Sums of Money to take and fortify; 'beſides others that were to be demoliſh'd, 'to the great Weakening of their Fron-'tiers. But the vaſt Deſigns they had 'formed, deſerved all theſe Sacrifices. 'The Catholic King was in ſuch a lan-'guiſhing Condition, as might carry him 'every Hour to the Grave; and they had 'his Succeſſion in View. The Continua-'tion of the War would have kept the 'two great * Maritime Powers united to 'the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, 'by virtue of their Alliance; which was 'ſo prejudicial to *France*, and yet no 'Way to be diſſolved but by a Peace, ſo 'that it became abſolutely neceſſary to 'make one. The Conferences of the 'Mareſchal *de Boufflers*, with the Earl of '*Portland*, the Embaſſy of the Earl to '*France*, and the extraordinary Honours 'done him there, were the Fore-runners

* *England* and *Holland.*

'of

'of the Diſſolution of the Confederacy, 'and of the Meaſures taken between the '*French* Court and thoſe Powers, to ſe-'cure the Succeſſion of *Spain* to the Elec-'toral Prince of *Bavaria*.

'This Expedient, however unjuſt, 'ſeemed to the two confederated Nations, 'the moſt proper Means to bring them 'out of an expenſive War with Honour, 'and at the ſame Time to prevent the '*French* from ſeizing the Succeſſion of '*Spain*. But on the other Side, it was 'favourable to *France*, by depriving the 'Emperor of his Right, and putting the '*French* King into a Condition to appro-'priate to himſelf, under the Name of 'the Electoral Prince, whatever he ſhould 'think convenient. Suitable to this View, it 'could not but be advantageous to *France* 'to diſarm her Enemies, which was to 'be the firſt Fruits of the Peace; For 'they were ſure the *Engliſh* Nation would 'never ſuffer their King to keep up an 'Army without Neceſſity; and that the 'United Provinces would, upon the Con-'cluſion of the Treaty, reduce their 'Troops, and apply themſelves to the 'Re-eſtabliſhment of their Trade. And 'as to the *German* Princes, they preſum'd, 'that when they ſhould find themſelves 'depriv'd of the Supplies they uſed to 'receive from thoſe Nations, and of the

Deſign of *France* in declaring for the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria*.

'Winter-quarters which were aſſigned 'them by the Emperor, they would diſ-'arm alſo. Thus the *French* alone re-'maining in Arms, and, by Means of the 'Peace, being furniſhed with ſufficient 'Opportunities of embroiling Affairs in '*Spain*, *Germany*, *England*, and the '*North*, would find no Difficulty in the 'Execution of their great Deſigns, upon 'the Death of the King of *Spain*, which 'they thought near at Hand. The Diſ-'arming ſucceeded to their Expectation; 'and in leſs than ſix Months they ſaw 'their Enemies out of a Condition to hurt 'them; which made them raiſe their 'Thoughts to higher Things than they 'had before projected. To make the beſt 'Uſe therefore of this favourable Con-'juncture, after they had broken a few 'uſeleſs Troops, and ſent home the Mi-'litia, which they could raiſe again at 'Pleaſure, they marched the beſt of their 'Troops towards the *Pyrenees*, fitted out 'Fleets of Ships and Gallies to cruize 'upon the Coaſts of *Spain* and *Italy*, and 'convey'd Men, diſguis'd like *Spaniards*, 'into the City of *Madrid*, to aſſiſt their 'Ambaſſador, who by his Intrigues had 'already put that Court into the utmoſt 'Confuſion.

'In

'In this Poſture of Affairs the Catho-
'lick King recovers, almoſt miraculouſly;
'which, with the Diſpoſition that ap-
'pear'd towards the ſpeedy Concluſion of
'a Truce between the Emperor and the
'*Turks*, made the Court of *France* ſlacken
'its Pace, leſt his Catholick Majeſty (who
'had conſtantly refuſed to declare him-
'ſelf in Favour of the Electoral Prince)
'ſhould enter into Meaſures with the Em-
'peror, armed and victorious, to bring
'the Archduke *Charles* into *Spain*: There-
'fore, ſince they could not flatter them-
'ſelves any longer with the Hopes of ob-
'taining their Ends without the Aſſiſtance
'of *England* and *Holland* (who had en-
'gaged no farther than for the Electoral
'Prince) they entered into a Negotiation
'with them upon that Project; and co-
'vering their Ambition under the ſpecious
'Pretence of the publick Good, and
'Preſervation of Peace, were compaſſing
'their main Deſign by oblique and indi-
'rect Ways and Methods.

'*'Tis* evident, that by engaging the
'two Maritime Powers, and the Elector
'of *Bavaria*, to ſecure the Succeſſion of
'*Spain* to the Electoral Prince, they
'ſhould actually embroil them with the
'Emperor, whoſe Power by that Means
'would be ſo diminiſhed, that either he
'would be obliged to treat privately with

'*France*

'*France* upon ſuch Terms as he could 'get; or elſe, under Pretence of putting 'the Electoral Prince into Poſſeſſion, they 'themſelves would ſeize into their Hands 'all the beſt Places, in order to leave him 'only what they pleaſed.

'The Council of *Spain*, ſeeing the 'Emperor diſabled by this League from 'maintaining his Right by Arms, and 'juſtly fearing their Monarchy would be 'diſmember'd, could no Way avoid to 'admit the Electoral Prince, and ſo fall 'into the Snare laid for them.

'Moſt of the States of *Europe*, intereſt-'ing themſelves no farther than to pre-'vent the Union of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy 'to that of *France*, would entertain leſs 'Jealouſy of the Poſſeſſion they ſhould 'take in the Name of the Electoral Prince. 'And thus, when they had poſted them-'ſelves in *Spain* and *Italy*, either a new 'War muſt be made to drive them out 'again, or they muſt have had, by an 'Agreement prejudicial to all *Europe*, 'whatever they ſhould think convenient 'for themſelves, in order to ſave the Reſt 'for that Prince: And for this they had 'made early Proviſion; for we now cer-'tainly know that they had already ſti-'pulated with the Elector of *Bavaria*, 'that the Kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicily*,

'which

'which they have ſo long coveted, ſhould 'be yielded to them.

'If the *Spaniards* and Maritime Powers 'ſhould acknowledge the Prince Electo-'ral's Right to the Crown of *Spain*, not-'withſtanding the Archdutcheſs his Mo-'ther's Renunciation of all her Rights to 'the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, which was made 'after the moſt ſolemn Manner, in Fa-'vour of the Emperor and his Deſcendants 'of the Male Line; this would be to 'create a Title in the *French*, to be diſ-'puted hereafter with that Prince, under 'the Name of the Dauphin, repreſenting 'the eldeſt Daughter of *Philip* IV; where-'as the Electoral Prince repreſented only 'the Younger: The Renunciation of the 'Queen, Mother of the Dauphin, as the '*French* would have given out, being of 'no more force againſt him, than that of 'the Archdutcheſs againſt her Son.——

'The Death of the Electoral Prince, 'which happened in the midſt of theſe 'noble Projects, caſt the *French* and their 'Allies into new Perplexities. The moſt 'Chriſtian King was fully convinced, that 'if he pretended to the whole Succeſſion 'of *Spain*, in order to incorporate thoſe 'Dominions with his own Crown, he 'ſhould arm all *Europe* againſt himſelf. 'And if he pretended to obtain it ſepa-'rate and independant for one of his

'Grand-

'Grandſons, his Allies would not fail to 'oppoſe him privately; and by correſ-'ponding ſecretly with the Emperor and 'Catholick King, be enabled to deſtroy 'the Foundation of his Hopes. Theſe 'Conſiderations moved him to propoſe 'ſeveral Expedients, to diſſipate their Suſ-'picions; whilſt his Ambaſſador at *Ma-'drid* endeavoured to perſuade the *Spa-'niards*, by all the Strength of Promiſes, 'Intrigues, and Bribes, to admit one of 'his Grandſons. But the Catholic King 'and the Allies of *France* expreſſing their 'Averſion to this Project, he at laſt agreed 'with King WILLIAM in another Expe-'dient to determine this great Affair; 'which was, by Way of Proviſion, to 'divide the Succeſſion of *Spain* between 'the Dauphin and the Archduke *Charles*.

Deſign of *France* in the Treaty of Partition.

'This Treaty, tho' myſteriouſly con-'cealed, took Wind, and awaken'd the 'Suſpicions of the Courts of *Vienna* and '*Madrid*. Yet there was ſome Reaſon to 'doubt; firſt, becauſe King WILLIAM, 'and two or three Perſons alone of the 'greateſt Figure in *Holland*, were ſaid to 'be concerned, and then, a Fact of ſuch 'Enormity and Injuſtice wanted all Ap-'pearance of Probability. But the moſt 'Chriſtian King, finding himſelf oblig'd 'to maintain great Forces, that exhauſted 'his Treaſures, in Expectation of a Suc-

'ceſſion

'ceſſion which the Recovery of the Ca-
'tholic King render'd every Day more
'uncertain and remote; and apprehend-
'ing on the other Hand, by Reaſon of
'his great Age, that if he ſhould come
'to die without finiſhing this important
'Enterprize, the Dauphin might find him-
'ſelf too weak, or of too little Credit to
'ſuſtain it with Succeſs, he thought him-
'ſelf neceſſitated to put all to Hazard, by
'making the Treaty public, with the
'Circumſtances which every Man knows.

'How raſh ſoever the publiſhing of this Treaty may ſeem, it cannot be ſaid 'to have been reſolved without mature 'Deliberation. The State of Affairs in '*Europe* was inviting. *Spain*, in the ut-'moſt Perplexity and Confuſion, lay un-'der the Terror of his Arms, which 'threatened them by Sea and Land: All 'their Places unprovided, and their Fron-'tiers open on all Sides: The great Ma-'ritime Powers, from whom they ought 'to expect moſt, diſarmed, and in all Ap-'pearance brought over to ſupport the 'Treaty. Theſe were ſuch Conſiderations, 'as might well oblige the *Spaniards* to 'think the Admiſſion of a Son of *France* 'to the Crown of *Spain*, would be a to-'lerable Thing in the Danger they were 'in of being torn in Pieces. And this 'was preſently perceived by the *French* to be

Reaſons of *France* for publiſhing the Treaty of Partition.

'the

'the worſt that could happen. There 'was a Party formed in *Spain*, to pro-'mote this Admiſſion: For many prin-'cipal Perſons among the Clergy had al-'ready ſwallowed the Bait, through a vain 'Deſire of Eaſe and Quiet, which they 'covered with the ſpecious Pretext of 'Religion. Poſſibly, there was yet a 'greater Party among the Grandees, of 'whom one Part trembled at the Danger 'of loſing all by Reſiſtance, and the other 'was ſeduced by Hopes of reaping Advan-'tages from the Change. As to the Em-'peror, they ſaw him ſufficiently em-'ploy'd, in regulating his Frontiers with 'the *Turk*, and diſbanding Part of his 'Forces, in order to recruit his Treaſures. 'So that they thought themſelves ſecure 'from him; eſpecially conſidering, that 'the Diviſions which had been formed in 'the Empire about * the Ninth Electo-'rate, together with the Northern War, 'in which they doubted not to engage 'him, would in all Appearance put him 'out of a Condition to think of Things 'abroad. Beſides all theſe favourable Diſ-'poſitions, they counted upon the good 'Fortune of their Monarch, ſo often ex-'perienced in the raſheſt Attempts, and

* That of *Hanover*, erected in 1692, in Favour of his late Majeſty's Father.

'the

'the Talent of the Nation for Negotia-
'tions and Intrigues.——

'According to theſe promiſing Ideas,
'the *French* Court perſuaded themſelves,
'that the Publication of the Treaty could
'not but turn to their Advantage. For
'the Emperor, finding himſelf abandon'd
'by his antient Allies, and not daring to
'rely upon *Spain* in ſuch extreme Con-
'fuſion, would either be forced to accept
'his Lot, rather than loſe all; and then
'they knew they ſhould be Maſters of
'every Thing in the *Spaniſh* Monarchy
'that was convenient for them at preſent,
'with certain Hopes of the reſt after-
'wards:—Or, on the contrary, if the Em-
'peror ſhould refuſe to accept the Treaty,
'which they thought improbable, then
'they truſted to King WILLIAM and the
'Maritime Powers, who had engaged to
'ſee the Conditions performed, and doubt-
'ed not to bring in divers other Princes
'and States of *Europe*.———

'Under theſe auſpicious Influences, we
'ſaw that Treaty publiſhed, which is now
'become the Scandal of all *Europe*. A
'Treaty which may be juſtly called, not
'only a Conſpiracy againſt the *Auſtrian*
'Family, but againſt the Liberties of
'*Chriſtendom*; directly tending to enſlave
'Mankind to the Houſe of *France*. This
'is the Deſign of that Treaty; irregular

The Injuſtice, and Enormity of the Partition Treaty.

'in

'in every Part, unjuſt in Subſtance, and 'of the moſt dangerous Conſequences to 'all Sovereigns, who may with Reaſon 'dread the Force of this Example. Hence-'forward, if nothing more be neceſſary 'to regulate Succeſſions than a ſuperior 'Force, and a Combination of three or 'more powerful Princes; What Methods 'of Caution can they poſſibly take, to ſe-'cure their Dominions to their Children 'or Families? The King of *Spain* is not 'yet in his fortieth Year; he is within 'the Age of having Children, and his 'Health may be reſtored by that Grace 'of God, which has been ſo viſible in his 'Preſervation. But he lives too long, in 'the Opinion of the *French*, who have 'waited for his Death ever ſince he was 'born: And not daring to pretend to the 'whole Succeſſion, leſt all *Europe* ſhould 'take the Alarm, they engage King WIL-'LIAM, and two or three leading Men 'in the United Provinces, whom they had 'gain'd, to conſent, that they ſhould take 'either by Force or Treaty what they 'judg'd moſt convenient for them, leav-'ing only for Form Sake ſuch a Share to 'the Emperor's ſecond Son, as they were 'ſure to tear from him ſoon after.——

'But this is not all. They carry the 'Attempt yet farther; and no way trou-'ble themſelves about the Conſent or

'Refuſal

'Refuſal of the actual Poſſeſſor of ſo many 'Kingdoms and States; as if he was alrea-'dy ſtruck out of the Book of the Living; 'or as if, by being childleſs, he had for-'feited all Right of inquiring who ought 'to ſucceed him. Then, as to his King-'doms and Dominions, though the diſ-'poſing of them is a Thing that deter-'mines their Happineſs or Miſery; they 'are no more regarded in the Treaty, than 'if they were ſo many Kingdoms in *Yve-'tot*, or Republicks of *San Marino*. The 'Treaty was propoſed to the Emperor and 'King of *Spain*, not as a Project upon 'which they had Liberty to deliberate; 'but as a fix'd Decree, and irrevocable 'Sentence, to which they muſt ſubmit 'blindly and without Reply. There is 'not the leaſt Mention made, that the 'Kingdoms and States to be divided ſhall 'be preſerved in the Enjoyment of their 'Laws, Cuſtoms, Immunities, and Pri-'vileges; a Favour that might have been 'ſtipulated for them, tho' it had been 'done only for Form Sake; for we know 'well enough that no ſuch Thing is to be 'expected from *France*.

'The haughty and deſpotical Manner 'of the *French*, in giving the two Mo-'narchs notice of the Treaty, is yet more 'extraordinary. The Marquis *de Villars* 'preſents it to the Emperor, and pre-

'ſcribes the Term of three Months, to 'conſider whether he will accept or re-'fuſe the Lot which was aſſign'd therein 'to the Archduke *Charles*, his ſecond Son; 'declaring at the ſame Time, that un-'leſs he accept within the Term limited, 'they will give it to another. And for 'the Catholic King, the Marquis *de* '*Torcy*, upon the Delivery of the Treaty 'to his Ambaſſador at *Paris*, declares 'daily, and without farther Compliment, 'That this Office was performed, in or-'der to know whether his Majeſty would 'conſent to the Partition, or not: That, 'in the firſt Caſe, they would be content; 'if otherwiſe, ſuch Meaſures would be 'taken as ſhould be thought moſt con-'venient.——

'But the *French* got yet farther; for 'they will not be contented to diſpoſe 'of the King of *Spain*'s Dominions as 'they pleaſe, and to pronounce Sentence 'againſt him with the higheſt Indignity: 'They affirm in the Treaty, that the 'Right of Succeſſion belongs to the Sons 'of the Emperor, and the Dauphin of '*France*; yet, notwithſtanding this Ac-'knowledgment, it is ſtipulated at the End 'of the ſeventh Article, that if the Em-'peror, and the two Princes his Sons, 'ſhall refuſe to admit the preſcrib'd Par-'tition, the two Kings, and the States-

'General

'General will nominate another Prince, 'to whom the Share deſigned for the 'Archduke ſhall be given. Can any Thing 'be more unjuſt and outrageous? They 'firſt deprive the Emperor of his Right 'to the Whole; then they divide the 'Whole between his ſecond Son the Arch-'duke and the Dauphin of *France*, giv-'ing all the Advantage to the laſt; and 'laſtly, they threaten his Imperial Ma-'jeſty, that unleſs he comply, they will 'give his Son's Part to a third Perſon, in 'Puniſhment of his Offence.

'Let Men turn this Proceeding which 'Way they pleaſe, they will not find 'ſuch an Example of Injuſtice and Arro-'gance, in either Chriſtian or Profane Hi-'ſtory. Surpriſals, Breach of Treaties, 'Invaſions and Deſolation of Countries, 'are Attempts that cry aloud for Ven-'geance; and *France* has known how to 'make uſe of them with Succeſs, through-'out the whole Courſe of the preſent 'Reign: But that kind of hoſtile Actions 'is uſually followed by others of like Na-'ture; Men oppoſe Force to Force, and 'when a War is begun, each Party en-'deavours to take all Advantages againſt 'their Enemies. Here the Caſe is 'different. Injuſtice and Surpriſal are 'diſguiſed under the Name of Peace; 'Way-laying another Prince is ſaid to be

'convenient for *Europe*, and Uſurpation
'is covered with the deceitful Maſk of an
'amicable Agreement. But what Law,
'or what Right, had the three contracting
'Powers, to aſſume this Authority, and
'to conſtitute themſelves Sovereign Judges
'of ſo vaſt an Inheritance; to over-throw
'the Order of Succeſſion that had been
'ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, and to adjudge the
'beſt Part to *France*, that had renounced
'all by a ſolemn Treaty? Strange Tribu-
'nal! where a Party is principal Judge,
'and where the two others, ſeduced by
'miſtaken Intereſts, blindly ſubſcribe his
'unjuſt Deciſions. And indeed, who
'could ever have thought that King WIL-
'LIAM ſhould have engaged with his moſt
'dangerous and implacable Enemy, to
'authorize ſuch an enormous Attempt,
'ſo prejudicial to all *Europe*, and to his
'own People in particular? It is upon
'this Prince, and his Creatures in *Hol-*
'*land*, that the Blame muſt fall: For,
'as to the *French*, they have been ſo long
'in the Poſſeſſion of attempting any thing
'to compaſs their Ends, that nothing now
'can be ſurprizing which comes from them.
'But for King WILLIAM and the States-
'General, who can ſee them at the Head
'of this Treaty without Emotion?——

'If

'If one ſhould ask theſe three Powers 'what was the Object of their Union, 'they anſwer in the ſecond Article, *To* 'maintain *the general Tranquillity of* Eu- 'rope: And if we would know what was 'the Cauſe of their Apprehenſions, they 'will preſently reply, *They could not ſee* 'without *Grief, that the State of the King* 'of Spain's *Health had for ſome Time been* 'ſo *languiſhing, that the Life of that Prince* 'is *in great Danger; tho' they cannot* 'think *upon this Event without Affliction,* 'by *Reaſon of the ſincere and unfeigned* 'Friendſhip *they have for him.* Hitherto 'all goes wonderfully well; nothing but 'Chriſtian Charity, the Deſire of Peace, 'and diſmal Apprehenſions of the Death 'of the Catholic King. Nay, in Con- 'firmation of the third Head, we may 'ſay, that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's 'Uneaſineſs about the Health of this good 'King was carried to ſome Exceſs: For 'his Deſign to ſend an Ambaſſador to '*Madrid,* in order to be careful and vi- 'gilant about him, was the principal Rea- 'ſon that mov'd him to preſs and con- 'clude the Peace with Diſadvantage. This 'Peace was hardly ratified when his Am- 'baſſador appear'd at *Madrid,* to the 'Aſtoniſhment of the whole Court; and 'to ſatisfy his Maſter's Impatience more 'punctually, laid the Poſt-road with his

Abſurdities of the Motives to this Treaty.

'own Horſes, cauſing his own Servants 'to ride as Poſt-boys between *Madrid* and 'the Frontier, to the End he might be 'every Hour informed, without truſting 'to the *Spaniards*, about that Health 'which concern'd him ſo much. A lit-'tle Head-ach, or a reſtleſs Night, was 'become the Subject of an Expreſs. In 'a Word, this officious Miniſter, ſeeing 'the *Spaniards* alarm'd about the Succeſ-'ſion, omitted nothing that might put 'them out of Doubt; letting them ſee at 'a Diſtance great Armies upon their Fron-'tiers, and Squadrons of Ships and Gal-'lies cruizing upon the Coaſts of *Spain* 'and *Italy*, all ready to decide that 'Queſtion."——

The Author then ſets forth the Treachery of the *French* towards the *Spaniards*, during the Minority, and thro' the whole Reign of the preſent King; the Inſtances of which he ironically calls, ſo many Proofs of their *ſincere and unfeigned Friendſhip*. After which he proceeds thus:

The Pretenſions of *France* to the Monarchy of *Spain* groundleſs.

'The moſt Chriſtian King has renoun-'ced the whole Monarchy of *Spain*, as 'well for himſelf as his Deſcendants, by 'ſtipulating and accepting the Renuncia-'tion of the Infanta *Maria Tereſa*, made 'before ſhe was his Wife; and thus vio-'lates this Contract, which was one of 'the moſt ſolemn and authentic that ever

'was

'was made between Sovereigns: And all
'this founded upon the vaineſt Sophiſms
'of the Bar, which are of no Force a-
'gainſt public Treaties; becauſe theſe are
'Contracts made *bona fide*, authorized by
'the Law of Nations among all People
'for the common Benefit of Mankind.
'This is the ſandy Foundation of his pre-
'tended Rights: He produced them in
'his Manifeſto, and contenting himſelf
'with the Formality, referred their Veri-
'fication to the Force of his Arms; which
'is a new Method of Law, that has ſince
'been of admirable Service to him in all
'his Deſigns. But what was there in that
'Manifeſto, but a continued Thread of
'captious Reaſonings, which however ſup-
'ported by the moſt crafty Diſguiſes, were
'only capable of impoſing upon the Sim-
'ple and Ignorant? The Author's Sen-
'tences are ambiguous; his Authorities
'remote from the Subject; and where he
'cites the Laws and their Interpreters, he
'omits the moſt important Paſſages, per-
'verts the true Senſe of the Words, and
'confounds the Sovereign with the Com-
'moner. What ſhall I ſay more? He
'falſifies known Hiſtory, affirms moſt
'apparent Falſhoods, and denies the moſt
'evident Truths. Thus trampling under
'Foot that Juſtice by which he ſtands
'condemn'd, proving nothing, and en-

'larging in falſe Deductions, he ſheds the 'Poiſon of his Malignity upon whatever 'has been moſt ſolemnly eſtabliſhed by 'the Law of Nations, for the common 'Good both of Sovereigns and People; 'as has been fully proved in the Anſwers 'to that Libel, to which the *French* have 'never dared to reply." —

We have next a particular Diſcuſſion of the *French* King's pretended Right, and ſeveral Inſtances of thoſe Perverſions and Falſifications, which the Author mentions. After inſiſting on the Moderation of *Philip* II, King of *Spain*, whoſe Daughter *Iſabella*, by *Elizabeth* of *France* his third Wife, was conſidered as Heireſs to the Crown of *France* upon the Death of *Henry* III. he goes on in the following Manner:

Danger from the Increaſe of the *French* Power.

'This Example of *Philip*, which the '*French* cannot deny, clearly demonſtrates, 'that the Houſe of *Auſtria*, at the utmoſt 'Height of her Power, was always averſe 'from the Uſe of theſe pernicious Maxims 'to ſatisfy that Ambition, of which ſhe 'has been ſo injuriouſly accuſed; and by 'a juſt Compariſon, how dangerous that 'of *France* is to all *Europe*, ſince ſhe 'makes no Difficulty to proſtitute what-'ever is eſteemed moſt ſacred in human 'Society. By the ſame Compariſon we 'may judge where to place that *Umbrage*

'*of*

'*of too many Dominions united under one* '*Prince*, which is produced in the Trea- 'ty for a ſecond Reaſon of avoiding a 'War. We may add alſo, that if *France* 'was able to maintain her Power and Ad- 'vantages with ſo much Succeſs in the 'laſt War, not only againſt the Forces of 'the Houſe of *Auſtria*, but againſt thoſe 'of the Empire, *England*, and *Holland*, 'either of which alone would have been 'formidable to them fifty Years ago, no 'Colour of Doubt can poſſibly remain.

'If the Crown of *Spain* paſſes from the 'Catholic King to the Archduke *Charles*, 'the Houſe of *Auſtria* increaſes not in 'Power, the State of *Europe* remains the 'ſame, and I am perſuaded, that all thoſe 'Nations which the *French* endeavour to 'fill with Suſpicions, will like it ſo well, 'that none of them would oppoſe ſuch a 'Diſpoſition, if the *French* ſhould lay 'aſide their turbulent Practices.

'Theſe Umbrages might have been 'reaſonable under the Emperor CHARLES 'V, who poſſeſs'd the Hereditary Domi- 'nions of his Family with thoſe of the 'Crown of *Spain*, eſpecially at a Time 'when *France* was not near ſo powerful 'as at this Day. But the Face of Affairs 'is ſo much altered ſince the Diviſion of 'that Auguſt Family into two Branches, 'that even from the Time of *Philip* the

'Second,

'Second, Son to that great Emperor, and 'his Succeſſor in the Dominions of *Spain*, 'her Power began to decline, and conſe-'quently that of *France* to riſe; which 'made ſo great a Progreſs in a ſhort Time, 'that the moſt irreconcilable Enemies of 'the *Auſtrian* Family, changing the Ob-'ject of their Fears, made haſte to her 'Defence, aſtoniſhed at the unexpected 'Change, which convinced them, in Deſ-'pite of the Illuſions of *France*, join'd 'to all the Force of Prepoſſeſſion, that 'her Power was far from being eſtabliſhed 'upon ſo ſolid a Foundation as that of her 'Rival.——

No Security in any Treaty to be made with *France*.

'It would be ſuperfluous to inſert the 'Articles, which tend to make ſure of the 'Maritime Powers to warrant the Treaty, 'and to perſuade them of the Sincerity 'of *France* in the Execution, as well as 'to break all the Meaſures that might be 'taken by the Houſe of *Auſtria* to defeat 'the Deſign. It is ſufficient to examine 'the Subſtance by the Great, to demon-'ſtrate that the Promiſes of the *French* 'are mere Illuſions, made only to attain 'their Ends, which when they have com-'paſs'd, they certainly know that no Gua-'rantees ſhall be able to ſtop their Career. 'So that the Matter in Diſpute is not, 'whether they will execute the Treaty, 'or not; for, being wholly to their Ad-

'vantage,

'vantage, there is no doubt to be made 'of the Execution: But the Queſtion is, 'Whether they will keep themſelves with-'in the Bounds of the Treaty? which is 'a Thing that all *Europe* cannot warrant. 'No Treaty was ever made with that 'Crown during the whole Courſe of the 'laſt Age, in which care was not taken 'to prevent all the *Chicanes* they could 'poſſibly ground upon ambiguous Words, 'difficult Paſſages, or Irregularities of Stile, 'and Law; and yet all theſe Cautions 'could never hinder them from putting 'falſe Interpretations upon the Text, and 'pretending Nullities in Law, whenever 'they found it convenient.——

'Things being ſo, can Men look upon 'the following Clauſe ſtipulated in the 'fourth Article any otherwiſe than as a 'mere Illuſion? *The moſt Chriſtian King, as 'well in his own Name, as in that of Mon-'ſieur the Dauphin, his Male Children, 'Heirs, and Succeſſors, born or to be born; 'as alſo Monſieur the Dauphin for himſelf 'and his Children, Male or Female,* &c. *'promiſe and engage to renounce, at the 'Opening of the ſaid Succeſſion of* Spain, *'as in this Caſe they do at this Time re-'nounce, all their Rights and Pretenſions to 'the ſaid Crown of* Spain, *and to all the 'other Kingdoms, Iſlands,* &c. *all which 'they ſhall confirm by ſolemn Acts, in the

The Renunciations of the Partition Treaty mere Illuſions.

'*moſt*

'*moſt authentic and beſt Form that may be:* Or, upon that in the fifteenth Article? '*All the Acts made in Conſequence of the Treaty, or that have relation thereunto, and eſpecially the ſolemn Acts which his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and Monſieur the Dauphin, are obliged to give by Virtue of the fourth Article, ſhall be regiſter'd in the Parliament of* Paris, *according to their Form and Tenure, and uſual Cuſtom.* If the Marriage Contracts of the two late Queens of *France*, and the Acts of Renunciation which they gave upon them, were not ſo well known, it would be eaſy to ſhew by the Contents of the fourth, fifth, and ſixth Articles of thoſe Contracts, that none of all theſe Conditions are there omitted, but on the contrary, ſo firmly ſtipulated, and attended with ſuch proviſional Cauſes, that poſſibly greater Care was never taken on both Sides, to eſtabliſh the Security and Duration of any Treaty.——

The Guarantees not able to ſecure the Duration of the Treaty.

'Upon the ſame Principle, the Guarantee of the Maritime Powers, and all others that ſhould come in, may be conſider'd as another Illuſion. It may indeed ſerve to compel the Emperor to be contented with his Lot, but not to force the *French* King to content himſelf with his: For when he has taken Poſſeſſion

'of

'of his Share without any Oppoſition, 'he will eaſily be Maſter of the Reſt.

'In every Guarantee there is required, 'not only a ſteady and conſtant Will, 'but alſo a Strength ſufficient to enforce 'the Obſervation of a Treaty; neither of 'which is to be found here. For as to 'the Will, can we ſuppoſe it conſtant in 'King WILLIAM, who is old, infirm, 'and, which is more, liable to be croſs'd 'by contrary Diſpoſitions in his People? 'Can we ſuppoſe it the United Provinces, 'whoſe Government is ſo eaſily embaraſſed, and who, to obtain a preſent 'Peace, will always ſacrifice a future Intereſt? What I here ſay of theſe Powers 'ought to be underſtood of all the reſt, 'who either are ſubject to ſuch internal 'Diſtempers, as make them unable to 'exert themſelves, or have Enemies abroad, that neceſſitate them to keep a 'vigilant Eye upon Affairs at home.——— 'But if we can ground no Expectations 'upon the Will of the Guarantees, much 'leſs can we upon their Force: For, beſides that they may find Employment 'at home, or a Diverſion abroad, by the 'Artifices of the *French* Court, I would 'fain know of what Conſideration are 'the Forces of *England* and *Holland*, in 'compariſon with thoſe of *France*? And 'for thoſe of the Emperor, they may

'have

'have Work enough to cover his Heredi-
'tary Country againſt ſuch Enemies as
'that Crown may arm againſt him. But
'let us for once ſuppoſe that the *French*
'will find as many Enemies as in the laſt
'War, which yet is utterly impoſſible;
'Will they not have ſuch an Acceſſion
'of Power, as muſt needs give them the
'Superiority? And if no eſſential Ad-
'vantage could be obtain'd againſt them
'in that, what can we expect in this?

Indignity and Abſurdity of the Motives to the Treaty.

'If then the Precautions mention'd in
'the fourth and fifteenth Articles of the
'Partition Treaty are mere Illuſions,
'and the Guarantee of the two Maritime
'Powers, with as many more as would
'engage, ſo inſufficient a Security for Per-
'formance, what might not be here ſaid
'of the Indignity and Abſurdity of the
'Motives upon which it is founded? They
'are full of Compaſſion for the Sickneſs
'of the Catholic King; they cannot
'*turn their Thoughts towards the ſad E-*
'*vent of his Death without Affliction, by*
'*Reaſon of the ſincere and unfeigned*
'*Friendſhip they have for him.* But to
'what End are theſe vain Expreſſions,
'unleſs to colour a Conſpiracy formed
'againſt his Crown, to put the *French*
'King into Poſſeſſion of the beſt Part,
'and refer the Reſt to his Diſcretion?
'Then, what can be more abſurd than

'the

'the Motive they alledge, pretending to 'rectify the Injuſtice and Enormity of 'the Partition by their Intentions to pre-'vent a War? And who does not ſee, 'that by the ſame Injuſtice they make it 'unavoidable? the Emperor's Right, the 'Intereſt of *Spain*, and the Security of '*Europe* rendering a War indiſpenſably 'neceſſary. For to pretend that the Em-'peror and the Catholic King ſhould ſub-'mit to the unjuſt Decree of theſe new 'Legiſlators, is what can never be requir'd 'of them with any Colour of Reaſon. 'Beſides, 'tis the Intereſt of all Nations, 'to whom this Treaty is injurious, and 'like to prove fatal, to make this Cauſe 'their own; from whence a War muſt 'of Neceſſity enſue, into which all *Europe* 'will be obliged to enter.——

'If the Peace and Tranquillity of *Europe* 'depended abſolutely upon the Execution 'of the Treaty, the Emperor's Right might 'then be conſider'd as a private Advan-'tage, and as ſuch be eſteemed ſubor-'dinate to the general Good; the contrary 'of which is moſt true. For the Intereſt 'of his Imperial Majeſty is that of all '*Europe*, whoſe Peace and Security de-'pends entirely upon the Preſervation of 'the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy in the Per-'ſon of his ſecond Son; which Truth is 'but too well prov'd already, and con-

'firm'd

'firm'd even by the Diſpoſition of the 'Partition-Treaty.

'In that Treaty the *French* King has 'ſtipulated for himſelf the Kingdoms of '*Naples* and *Sicily*, divers Places and 'Iſlands ſituated upon the Coaſt of *Tuſ-* '*cany*, the City and Marquiſate of *Final*, 'the Province of *Guipuſcoa*, &c. all which 'Kingdoms, Iſlands, Provinces, and 'Places, are to be incorporated with his 'Crown, together with the Dominions 'of the Duke of *Lorrain*, who in Re-'compence is to receive the Dutchy of '*Milan* for himſelf and his Heirs for ever. 'The Archduke *Charles* is to have for 'his Lot *Spain*, with the other Kingdoms, 'Iſlands, Dominions, Countries and Places, 'poſſeſs'd at preſent by the Catholic King, 'as well in *Europe* as elſewhere; but un-'der two Conditions. Firſt, That unleſs 'the Emperor accepts the Treaty within 'the Term of three Months after he is 'duly inform'd, the Treaters ſhall agree 'upon a Prince to whom his Part ſhall 'be given. — Secondly, That this Part 'ſhall never be united or remain in the 'Perſon of any of his Deſcendants, or 'the Deſcendants of the Emperor, who 'ſhall be either Emperor, or King of the '*Romans*.

'Theſe Conditions thus tack'd to the 'Lot of the Archduke, being only ſo

'many

'many Snares laid by the *French*, as well 'to make his Part insignificant to him, as 'to have an Occasion to seize the whole 'into their Hands, I shall endeavour to 'discover the artificial Contrivance of 'them.

'1. The Lot stipulated for the Dau- 'phin is to be incorporated with the 'Crown of *France*, which is already but 'too powerful; whereas that of the Em- 'peror is to be the Apennage of a younger 'Son, and that upon Condition never to 'be united by Succession, or otherwise, 'to that of the Eldest, if he becomes 'Emperor; which is such a Disproportion, that, supposing the Equality of the 'Lots, excludes all Comparison in Point 'of Advantage, since that of the Dau- 'phin augments the Grandeur of *France*, 'whilst that of the Archduke not only 'deprives the Emperor of his Right to the 'Whole, but tends directly to overthrow 'his Power.

The Conditions subjoin'd to the Archduke's Lot, so many Snares to bring it into the Possession of the *French*.

'2. The *French* King stipulates for 'himself what he knows would be most 'difficult to subdue by Force, *Lorrain* only 'excepted, and leaves to the Archduke 'the decay'd and ruinous Dominions of '*Spain* and the *Low-Countries*, which 'cannot fail to fall into his own Hands 'as soon as he is in Possession of his 'Lot.——

'3. That the Lot of the Archduke 'muſt fall into the Hands of the *French* 'as ſoon as they are in Poſſeſſion of their 'Part, needs no Proof; ſince 'tis impoſ-'ſible for this Prince to keep *Spain*, when 'he can have no Aſſiſtance from abroad, 'nor any Communication with the He-'reditary Countries of his Family in *Ger-'many*; whilſt *France* is Miſtreſs of the 'Frontiers, as well by her preceding Con-'queſts, as by the deſign'd diſmembering 'of *Guipuſcoa*. In the next Place, of what 'Advantage will the *Low-Countries* be to 'him, unleſs to ſerve for a Theatre of 'eternal Wars with the Crown of *France*, 'which muſt of neceſſity be always tri-'umphant, by reaſon of the Neighbour-'hood of its Provinces, and the many 'Places they poſſeſs in thoſe Parts? In 'which the two Branches of the Houſe 'of *Auſtria* will be entirely exhauſted, 'only to preſerve a Barrier for the *Dutch* 'againſt the Invaſions of *France*, in re-'compence of the irreparable Miſchiefs 'they have brought upon their Family. 'In a word, what will be the Fate of 'the *Spaniſh* Provinces in *America*, and 'the *Eaſt-Indies*, with the Iſlands they 'poſſeſs out of *Europe*, unleſs to become 'the Scorn of the *French*, *Engliſh*, and '*Dutch* Pirates? For if the *Spaniards* 'could not ſecure them in the Height of

'their

'their Power, what will they be able to 'do in this State of Deſolation?

'4. The Condition ſtipulated by the 'Treaters, to nominate a third Per-'ſon to the Lot of the Archduke, in caſe 'of Refuſal, can be conſidered no other-'wiſe than as a double Snare laid by *France* 'for the Princes of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, 'to deprive them by that Means of what 'ſeemed to be left them by the Treaty: In 'this Reſpect the more dangerous, becauſe 'the Emperor could no way avoid it. For 'if he accepted the Treaty, he offended 'the Catholic King in the higheſt Degree, 'and drew upon himſelf the Hatred of 'the *Spaniards*, which would certainly 'have determined them to ſettle the Crown 'upon a Son of *France*.—On the other 'Hand, if the Emperor refuſed the Trea-'ty, they would proceed to nominate 'another; and then, by tampering with 'all, they would have ſold their Suffrage 'to the higheſt Bidder.

'5. This Condition covers yet a more 'dangerous Snare than the former; for 'the three Powers not preſently agreeing 'upon another Perſon, the *French* would 'take Advantage of that Delay, and pro-'poſe the Lot of the Archduke to ſeveral 'Princes, as a Prey to be divided among 'them; which would be a Means to 'bring ſome of them off from their Al-

'liance with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and 'to make others neglect their true Intereſt, 'in this great Alteration of Affairs.——

'6. The *French* may not only take 'Advantage of this Delay, to ſeduce ſome 'and amuſe others, whilſt they fortify 'their Party in *Spain*, as well by their 'Intrigues, as by the Terror of their Arms: 'But the Opportunities they would have 'in the principal Courts of *Europe*, to 'lure them into their Intereſt, or at leaſt 'to perſuade them to enter into the Gua-'rantee of the Treaty, would no leſs 'contribute to facilitate their grand De-'ſign. And it is to be feared, that by 'theſe Means they may engage ſuch a 'Party, that both *England* and *Holland* 'would find it difficult to break, whenever 'they ſhall return to their true Intereſt.—

'7. If King WILLIAM, by the Scheme 'of the Partition, deſigned to intereſt the 'Houſe of *Auſtria* in the Defence of the '*Low-Countries*, without rendering them 'too powerful there; and at the ſame Time, 'to oblige the *French* to turn the Strength of 'their Arms from that Frontier, by engag-'ing them in an *Italian* War; it is certain 'he could not take any Meaſures leſs con-'ducing to that End. For if all the Power 'of that Houſe could not maintain thoſe 'Provinces againſt *France*, confined to its 'own Limits; What can now be done,

'after

'after ſo vaſt an Addition of new Acqui-
'ſitions? And who can tell whether the
'People of thoſe Countries, weary of ſuf-
'fering as much by the fruitleſs and bur-
'denſome Succours of the Maritime Pow-
'ers, as from the Invaſions of *France*,
'will not deſperately throw themſelves
'into the Arms of that Crown? Then as
'to the Diverſion pretended in *Italy*, if
'the *French* King becomes Maſter of
'*Spain*, either for himſelf or one of his
'Family, to which Things ſeem to tend
'more and more every Day; either he
'will find little Difficulty in ſeizing
'the *Spaniſh* Dominions in *Italy*, as ac-
'ceſſional to the Head;——or elſe there
'will be no Diverſion at all. But if, on
'the other Hand, the Treaty produce its
'Effect, and the two Branches of the
'Houſe of *Auſtria* be deprived of a mu-
'tual Communication, while *France* is
'furniſhed with Means both of divert-
'ing the Emperor's Arms by an inteſtine
'War, and embaraſſing the Affairs of the
'two Maritime Powers, a War in *Italy*
'can neither be difficult nor laſting.——

'Tho' the Points laſt mentioned are
'ſufficient to alarm all *Europe*, if the ap-
'proaching Dangers be duly conſidered;
'yet the Court of *France* is ſo indefati-
'gable in uſing all her Arts to diſguiſe or
'conceal the diſmal Proſpect, that I think

'myſelf obliged to diſcover the common 'Peril, and to prove with Demonſtration, 'that tho' the *French* King ſhould not get 'one Foot of Ground upon the Death of 'his Catholic Majeſty; yet if he can pro-'cure his Dominions to be divided, ſuch a 'Diſmembering alone would place *France* 'in the Throne of the Univerſal Monar-'chy, to which ſhe has ſuch a vehement 'Deſire.

The Diſmembering of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, a Maſter-piece of *France*.

'If the *French* ſcatter their Treaſures in 'all the Courts of *Europe*; if they amuſe 'one Part, and draw the other into their 'Intereſts; if they embroil People on all 'Sides, only for the Sake of embroiling; 'if they maintain great Armies, which 'exhauſt their Country; in a word, if 'they move Heaven and Hell, to make 'as many Enemies to the Emperor as 'they can, and to ſeduce his Allies, no 'Man ought to wonder. For this is a 'Maſter-game; and if they ſucceed, they 'will be re-imburs'd with Intereſt, and 'become abſolute Arbitrators of *Europe*. 'The great Buſineſs of *France* is to tri-'umph over her Rival, which cannot fail, 'if ſhe be permitted to tear up the Foun-'dations of her Power, by diſmembering 'the Dominions of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy: 'For ſo ſoon as the Houſe of *Auſtria* ſhall 'ceaſe to be the Ballance of her Power, 'no other Bank will be capable of put-

'ting

'ting a Stop to her Rapidity and Violence.
'And here I cannot but wonder at certain
'ſpeculative Politicians, who either thro'
'Humour or Prepoſſeſſion, look upon the
'Danger without Concern; relying upon
'trivial, antiquated, and unſeaſonable Ma-
'xims. They will wait for a Remedy
'from Time, which will either never
'come, or will come too late; and they
'doubt no more of Revolutions, which
'depend entirely upon Chance, than they
'do of Evangelical Truths; even inferring
'from the preſent Grandeur and Eleva-
'tion of *France*, a Neceſſity of her ap-
'proaching Ruin. If theſe Enthuſiaſtic
'Politicians had well examined the pre-
'ſent State of *Europe*, and that of *France*,
'I am ſure they would reaſon in another
'Manner. But I ſhall only deſire they
'would conſider the Example of the *Ot-*
'*toman* Empire, and then bluſh at their
'own Indiſcretion: For if this vaſt Power
'has already continued above four Ages,
'it is to be preſumed that of *France* may
'laſt longer, eſpecially conſidering all thoſe
'Maxims ſo proper for Conqueſt, which
'ſhe has not only copied from thence,
'but taken care to obſerve in the moſt
'punctual Manner, both at home and
'abroad. It is therefore their Buſineſs to
'conſider, whether this kind of Govern-

'ment will agree with them or not, for 'they must determine, and that speedily".

As the Execution of the Partition Treaty seemed to be the grand Object of the two Maritime Powers, the Author proceeded to shew what Advantages the *French* would obtain by their Lot, in order to their grand Design; which was to render that of the Archduke so burdensome to him and his Family, as might pave the Way for them to seize it upon the first War. This he did very fully and clearly: But as we have already extracted enough to set this iniquitous Treaty in a strong Light, and to justify even those Subjects of *Great Britain* who disapproved it, I shall not extend this Matter any farther.

While these Negotiations were privately carried on between *France* and the Maritime Powers, as well as when they were made public by the *French* Court, and thus exposed and remonstrated against by the two Branches of the *Austrian* Family, a constant Correspondence was kept up between his Excellency the Earl of *Manchester* in *France*, and my Lord *Jersey*'s Office in *England*, to which Mr. *Prior* belong'd. By inserting the principal Letters that passed at that Time, or such Extracts of them as contain any Thing important, we shall form some Judgment of the

the Share each of theſe Miniſters had in the Partition Treaty, and in all the other Affairs then on the Carpet.

Mr. PRIOR, I before took notice, ſtaid a ſhort Time in *France* after Lord *Manchester*'s Arrival. We learn it from his Lordſhip's Letters to the Earl of *Jerſey*, the firſt of which here follows.

To the Earl of JERSEY.

My Lord, *Paris, Aug.* 8. 1699. N.S.

'I Can now acquaint your Lordſhip, that I arrived here the 5th, and the next Day I ſent a Compliment to Monſieur *Saintot*, * who immediately waited on me, and gave me to underſtand, that Monſieur *de Torcy* was expected in Town. Mr. PRIOR writ to him, and he appointed the Afternoon to ſee me. Your Lordſhip knows the uſual Ceremonies on ſuch Occaſions. He ſeemed extremely civil, and let me know the King did not return to *Verſailles* till *Thurſday* next, and that then I ſhould have an Audience of him. The Ambaſſador of *Savoy* was to wait on me, and this Day I ſhall return his Viſit.———

Letters of Lord *Manchester*, Lord *Jerſey*, Mr. *Prior*, &c.

* Maſter of the Ceremonies.

'I am

'I am obliged to your Lordſhip for letting me have your Houſe, which I like extremely; though my Equipage not being come from *Rouen*, puts me under ſome Difficulties: But with the Help of Mr. PRIOR all Things are made eaſy. He has delivered your Lordſhip's Letter to Monſieur *de Torcy*; and he took notice to me how well Mr. PRIOR has behaved himſelf during his Stay here.

MANCHESTER.

The two following Extracts need no particular Remark.

To the Earl of JERSEY.

My Lord, *Paris, Aug.* 15, 1699.

'I AM now entering upon a troubleſome Part of my Buſineſs, the King having appointed To-morrow for an Audience at *Verſailles*. I cannot tell whether Monſieur and Madame will be there. Mr. PRIOR intends to ſet out for *Loo* as ſoon as theſe Audiences are over, *&c.*

MANCHESTER.

To

To the Earl of JERSEY.

My Lord, *Paris, Aug.* 19, 1699.

'I AM now to acquaint your Lord-'ſhip that all my private Audiences 'are over, except that of the Dauphin and 'the Dutcheſs of *Chartres*, which I am 'to have To-morrow Morning at *Meudon*. 'On Sunday Morning laſt I waited on the 'King. —— I ſhall never fail to preſs 'the Diſpatch of ſuch Matters as are com-'mitted to my Care, whatever the Succeſs 'may be. Mr. PRIOR will leave this 'Place on *Monday* next, *&c.*

MANCHESTER.

Great Part of the Earl of *Mancheſter*'s Buſineſs in *France*, was to preſent Memorials concerning Injuries received: Of what kind they were, we may in ſome meaſure learn from the following Extract.

To the Earl of MANCHESTER.

My Lord, *Loo, Aug.* 25. 1699.

'I HAVE more than once troubled 'your Excellency with Complaints of 'Hardſhips ſuſtained by his Majeſty's 'Subjects

'Subjects in *France*, upon account of 'their being Proteſtants. But his Ma-'jeſty has commanded me at preſent to 'inform your Lordſhip of a very great 'Violence offered to an *Engliſh* Ship at 'Sea, coming from a Foreign Part, which 'has been attack'd by one of *France*, and 'the Paſſengers taken out, contrary to the 'Treaties between the two Crowns for 'the Freedom of Trade and Navigation, 'and the Law of Nations. I need not 'further open this Affair to your Lord-'ſhip, but refer you to the encloſed Pa-'pers, upon which your Lordſhip is to 'form a Complaint, and to preſent a Me-'morial to the *French* Court. Mr. PRIOR 'will have put into your Lordſhip's Hands 'the Buſineſs of Meſſieurs *de la Foreſt* and '*de Scheus*, wherein your Lordſhip's good 'Offices will be wanting, according to 'the Directions already given". I am,

W. BLATHWAYT.

We do not find that the Earl of *Manchester*'s Remonſtrances were always effectual at the *French* Court, though his Perſon ſeemed to be very acceptable. He had before * complained to the Earl of *Jerſey*, that he 'feared he ſhould do but

* Letter of *Aug.* 19.

little

'little, especially in Matters that relate to 'the *French* Refugees, whatever Promises 'had been made to my Lord *Portland*, 'or the Earl of *Jersey* himself". Of this he gives an Instance in the Answer of Messieurs *de la Forest* and *Scheus* above-mentioned; whose Case, however, is not at large recited. And now, as to the other Business about which Mr. *Blathwayt* writes, at King WILLIAM's express Command, his Lordship says in another Letter *, That 'till he has more particular Informations 'about the Matter, he cannot think it 'proper to make his Complaint; for it is 'easy to foresee, that this Court will give 'him but little Satisfaction upon it, if he 'cannot tell whom to charge with the 'Fault. He therefore desires my Lord '*Jersey* to send him what farther Disco-'veries he can make about it, that the 'Matter may be as clear as possible". Accordingly my Lord *Jersey* sent him over a 'Paper, which had been presented to 'the Lords Justices, who look'd upon it 'as a Thing of so extraordinary a Na-'ture, that they thought fit to lay it be-'fore the King for his particular Direc-'tions". But the King of *France* was inflexible with regard to his Protestant Subjects, of which Sort it appears were

* *Sept.* 5.

the

the Paſſengers, twelve in Number, who were taken out of an *Engliſh* Veſſel. That Monarch, whatever has been ſaid to his Advantage, was in reality a bigotted Enthuſiaſt, very ignorant of the Laws of Nature and Nations; his whole Reign, with regard to his Subjects, being a continued Violation of the former, and with regard to his Neighbours, of the latter. But we cannot give a better Idea of this Part of his Character, than by inſerting his Excellency's Words in another Letter to Lord *Jerſey*, who had before writ to him about the Affair therein mentioned.

My Lord, *Paris, Sept.* 2, 1699.

'I DID obſerve your Lordſhip's Di-
'rections, and had an Audience fix'd
'before I ſpoke to Monſieur *de Torcy*;
'tho' when I acquainted him with the
'Nature of what I was to ſay, I found
'little Hopes of Succeſs. He would have
'had me delay it for ſome Time, and
'till I had inform'd myſelf how much
'the Pretenſions of Madamoiſelle *Malauſe*
'amounted to; which I declined, ſay-
'ing, that what I was to aſk of his Ma-
'jeſty was a Favour, and in ſuch a Caſe
'the Sum was not to be conſidered.
'Accordingly I had my Audience, and I
'muſt ſay, the King expreſſed himſelf

'in

'in all the obliging Terms that could be 'uſed in a Refuſal. He ſaid, He was ex-'tremely troubled, whenever the King of '*England* aſked any Thing that he could 'not grant, and that he hoped he ſhould 'not be put upon theſe Difficulties for the 'future. I did argue the Caſe as much 'as it was proper, letting him know that 'the King had that Conſideration for her 'and her Family, that he hoped his Ma-'jeſty would oblige him in it, and diſ-'tinguiſh her, ſhe having had Leave to 'go out of *France*; preſſing this as far as 'was poſſible. He was pleaſed to anſwer, 'That he knew very well all that could be 'ſaid upon this Subject; that he had made 'it a Rule, which he could not but obſerve, 'that if he granted it, he muſt take from 'one to give to the other; and that the 'better Way was not to amuſe me with 'Hopes, ſince his Reſolution was never 'to grant any thing of this Nature: But 'that he hoped the King would be con-'vinced of his Readineſs to comply with 'him in Matters of greater Conſequence. 'I hope my Lord *Feverſham* will believe 'I have done all I could out of Reſpect 'for him; though it is not an agreeable 'Subject to ſpeak to, when one is morally 'ſatisfied to be denied. I muſt deſire 'your Lordſhip will be ſo kind as to pre-'vent, as much as you can, any Demands

'in

'in Relation to the *French* Refugees; for 'I am confident they deſign to weary us 'out at laſt by their Refuſals, and that it 'is not, in my poor Opinion, much for 'the King's Honour. I intend to preſs 'the Caſe of Meſſieurs *de la Foreſt* and '*de Scheus*, it being, as I take it, already 'granted; though I believe they will at 'laſt evade it.———

I am, &c.

MANCHESTER.

Thus we ſee King WILLIAM could not obtain any Thing from the *French* Court by Remonſtrances, which he had neglected to ſtipulate in the Treaty of *Ryſwick*: But this will not be wondered at, when we reflect how ſhort a Time that Treaty itſelf was found binding, in its moſt material Articles. We have another Example of the Neglect ſhewn to the *Britiſh* Miniſter's Inſtances, in a Letter dated only a Week after the foregoing.

To the Earl of JERSEY.

My Lord, *Paris, Sept.* 9. 1699.

'I HAVE received your Lordſhip's 'Letter of the 24th paſt, with the 'encloſed Papers, relating to the *Engliſh*

'Goods

'Goods ſeized by *Du Bart*, on board ſome *Dantzick* Ships, and will preſent another Memorial about that Affair, if your Lordſhip pleaſes; tho' I cannot expect any good Effect from it, becauſe they gave a poſitive Denial to Mr. PRIOR, as I find by Monſ. *Torcy*'s Anſwer to his Demands upon that Head, entered into the Book of Memorials. The Words are theſe, *That the Ships upon which theſe Goods were taken are* Dantzickers; *that Oath is made, that the Goods, which the* Engliſh *reclaimed, belonged likewiſe to Merchants at* Dantzick; *that the* French *hold it therefore for good Prize, and conſequently will not reſtore it, but think the* Engliſh *muſt have Recourſe to* Dantzick *for Reparation of the Loſſes, which they ſuffer in this Affair.* ——

I am, &c.

MANCHESTER.

Mr. PRIOR being arrived at *Loo*, where King WILLIAM then kept his Court, he wrote the following Letter from thence to the Earl of *Mancheſter* at *Paris*, whom he had lately left.

To the Earl of MANCHESTER.

My Lord, *Loo, Sept.* 11. 1699.

'I DID not trouble you by laſt Poſt, 'not being then able to give a very 'good Account of myſelf; which I can 'do now, having had the Honour of a 'very long and particular Audience of his 'Majeſty this Morning; the Effect of 'which is, that he knows all I was able 'to inform him of, in relation to the 'preſent State of our Affairs in the King-'dom where you are, and that I am 'ordered to go from hence to-morrow 'Morning for the *Hague*, to receive what 'Orders his Majeſty may ſend me, and 'to wait there till his farther Pleaſure be 'known.

'Your Excellency ſees by the incloſed 'Memoir, the Caſe of one *Girard*, a 'Miniſter of *Neufchattel*, whom his moſt 'Chriſtian Majeſty will protect againſt 'what Madame *de Nemours*, the lawful 'Sovereign of the Place, deſigns to do in 'relation to her own Subject. His Ma-'jeſty commands me to intimate to your 'Excellency, That it is his Pleaſure, that 'you concert with Monſieur *Friebergen* 'upon this Subject, and uſe your beſt En-'deavours with the Court of *France*, that

'they

'they ſhould let the Matter be examined 'and decided by its competent Judges, 'according to the Senſe of the incloſed 'Memoir, of which Monſieur *Friebergen* 'has likewiſe a Copy.

'You will have heard of the King of '*Denmark*'sDeath before this reaches you; 'ſo that as to public News I ſhall not 'trouble you.

'As to more private Affairs, *Obrian* is 'taken up at *Bruſſels*; ſo your Excellency 'muſt get *Bayly* to tell you the Particu-'lars of what he knows relating to that 'Man, and what he thinks would be beſt 'to do, that his being taken up may be 'ſerviceable to his Majeſty's Intereſts.

'I write this Letter incloſed to *Bayly* 'upon this Head: The Account he will 'give your Excellency you will be pleaſed 'to ſend directly to Mr. *Blathwayt*.

'I take this Opportunity, my Lord, to 'repeat my Thanks to you for your Fa-'vours to me while I ſtaid with you at '*Paris*; and to aſſure your Excellency, 'that in all Places and Stations I continue 'with great Reſpect, *&c.*'

M. PRIOR.

Mr. PRIOR, at this Time, was con-cerned in the moſt ſecret Affairs, and ſuppoſed to know as much of them as any

Man whatſoever. He is continually ſpoken of with the utmoſt Confidence in the Miniſterial Letters, and ſeems to have been very much relied on. We have the following Paragraph in an incloſed Paper from Lord *Mancheſter* to Lord *Jerſey*, dated *Sept.* 23, 1699.

'I am informed that one Mr. *Mennis*, 'or *Minnis*, a *Scotchman*, embarked at '*Calais* for *Dover* the Beginning of this 'Month. The beſt Account I can get 'of him at preſent is, That he has fol-'lowed the late King's Fortune ever ſince 'the Revolution, and being a Man of 'Letters, and of Intrigue, found Means 'to inſinuate himſelf into Lord *Middle-'ton*'s Favour, who employed him in forg-'ing Letters from the Jacobite Party in '*Scotland* to the late King, complaining 'of Lord *Melford*, and deſiring he might 'be removed from the Miniſtry, and 'Lord *Middleton* appointed to carry on 'the Correſpondence with them. This 'Forging, it ſeems, was diſcovered by '*Melford*, who thereupon ruin'd him 'at *St. Germains*; ſince which Time he 'has continued in Diſgrace and Want, 'which I am told are the chief Motives 'that induce him to venture home. Mr. 'PRIOR can give ſome Account of him,

'and

' and I ſuppoſe * Mr. *Macky* too, ſince ' he embarked in the Packet-Boat at ' *Dover.*'

Concerning *Obrian*, mentioned in Mr. PRIOR's Letter, Mr. *Hill* wrote thus from *Bruſſels*, to Lord *Mancheſter*.

' I came hither about ſix Days ago, in ' order to ſend away to a ſafer Place one ' *Obrian*, an *Iriſhman*, who was lately ' come from *Paris*, and had been noted ' as a dangerous Man. I ſent him to ' *Breda*, and there I believe he is in good ' Hands. I would now beg of your Lord- ' ſhip to let ſome Enquiry be made about ' him, that we may know what he can ' diſcover at leaſt, if he can be brought ' to Confeſſion. I believe this is the Man ' who carried off *Goodman*, and I believe ' he went alſo from *England* with Sir ' *George Berkeley*.'——

In anſwer to theſe two Requeſts, Lord *Mancheſter* incloſed the following Paper in a Letter to Lord *Jerſey*, dated *Oct.* 5. 1669.

* This Mr. *Macky* was at that Time Director of the Packet-Boats between *Dover* and *France*. He wrote, Characters of the *Engliſh* and *Scots* Nobility, *&c.* to be found in a Book intitled, *Memoirs of Secret Services*.

'The beſt Account I can learn of *O-brian*, is what he ſaid of himſelf when he firſt came over, *viz.* That he was always a great Acquaintance of *Good-man*; that they had often robbed upon the Highway; that when he received the News of his being an Evidence, he was in Cuſtody of a Meſſenger; that he was engaged with him in the Aſſaſſina-tion, though none of the others knew of it, which made him reſolve to get *Goodman* out of the Way; ſo employ-ing ſome Friends, he ſoon obtained his Liberty. Colonel *Ingram* came to him, and told him, that his Friend would ruin Lord *Aylesbury* and Lord *Montgo-mery*, if not prevented; and that thoſe Lords would not ſpare any Money to perſuade *Goodman* to go to *France*, or to have him carried away by Force. This *Obrian* undertook, and *Ingram* procured a Settlement of 500 *l. per Ann.* from the two Lords, beſides 500 *l.* in Money. That with ſome Difficulty *Obrian* and *Ingram* met *Goodman* at the *Dog* in *Drury-Lane*, where with fair Words, but more out of Fear, he conſented to go, and *Obrian* never left him afterwards till he brought him to *St. Germains*, where he was well re-ceived: But having ſpent their Money, and *Goodman* not finding any Thing

would

'would be done for him, he was diſſa-
'tisfied; and left, when my Lord *Port-*
'*land* came, he might go to his Houſe
'for Protection, he was ſecured, and
'was never heard of ſince. This *Obrian*
'ſoon after turned his Religion, and ſo
'procured a ſmall Penſion. Upon the
'Peace, Colonel *Ingram* was obliged to
'leave *England*, by reaſon of the late Act
'of Parliament, and *Obrian* complained
'to King JAMES that he kept their Mo-
'ney, which he denied: But ſoon after,
'the ſaid Lords remitted 250*l.* which
'King JAMES ordered to be divided be-
'tween *Obrian* and *Goodman*'s Woman,
'and ſo Matters continued till he went to
'*Bruſſels* to Lord *Aylesbury*. It is thought,
'that if he believed he ſhould not be ſoon
'releaſed, he would diſcover all he knows,
'and he is fully acquainted with the Pro-
'ceedings of moſt Lords.

'As for the Perſons in Cuſtody, I can-
'not learn any Thing but what Mr. PRIOR
'knows. They are no longer in Pain
'for them at *St. Germains*, ſince Lord
'*Melford* writes from *Flanders*, that there
'is no Evidence againſt them."——

The Affair of Monſieur *Girard*, the Miniſter of *Neufchattel*, mentioned in Mr. PRIOR's Letter, was repreſented to the *French* Miniſtry by M. *Friebergen*, the

Dutch Ambaſſador, my Lord *Mancheſter* being indiſpoſed: But the Repreſentation had no Effect, the King of *France* perſiſting in his Reſolution of protecting the Miniſter, in Defiance of the Treaty of *Ryſwick*.

Before Mr. PRIOR removed from *Holland*, he wrote Lord *Mancheſter* the following Letter.

To the Earl of MANCHESTER.

My Lord, *Hague, Oct.* 16, 1699.

'I HAVE the Honour of your Excellency's Letters, that of the 5th, 'which came ſtrait hither, and that of 'the 30th paſt, by way of *England*, and 'returned thence. I underſtand by the 'Gentleman, nothing can be done ſo ſoon 'as we wiſh: But as I have ſpoken to 'the Perſons concerned here, in a little 'time I ſhall be able to give him a bet-'ter Anſwer than I can at preſent. It is 'thought proper that *Bayly* be continued '*in ſtatu quo*. Mr. *Yard* has let my Lord '*Jerſey* know what he has done in re-'lation to the Advices which *Couchman* 'brought. This, at preſent, my Lord, 'is all I can ſay upon this Subject in ge-'neral; as ſoon as we can get together in '*England*, I hope to be more particular

'upon

'upon it, and more ſatisfactory to the Gentlemen concerned.

'We expect the King here to-morrow Night for certain, and about *Saturday* following we ſhall be wiſhing the Wind fair. *Obrian* is by this Time on board, in order to his going for *England*. The other Perſons ſeized this Summer, about *Loo*, are ſtill in Cuſtody at *Arnheim*.

'I trouble Mr. *Stanyan* with what is leſs material, and detain your Excellency no longer than to repeat to you the Aſſurances of my being, with Zeal and Reſpect,'

M. PRIOR.

Lord *Jerſey* having been in *Holland* with his Majeſty at the End of the Seaſon, he received at his Return a Letter from Lord *Mancheſter*, of which we ſhall give an Extract.

My Lord, *Paris, Oct.* 29, 1699.

'I Suppoſe this will find your Lordſhip ſafely arrived in *England*, and I hope you received mine of the 5th Inſtant in *Holland*, wherein I gave your Lordſhip the fulleſt Account I could get of *Obrian*.

'I am to acquaint your Lordſhip, that *Bryerly*, one of the Aſſaſſinators, who had formerly ſome Thoughts of going

'into

'into *England*, and diſcovering what he 'he knew, in Hopes of obtaining his Par-'don, and getting a Recompence, conti-'nues ſtill in great Neceſſity, and is ſaid 'to be in the ſame Reſolution. Some 'Steps were made by Mr. PRIOR in that 'Matter, when he was here, of which 'he can inform your Lordſhip; and in 'caſe it may be judged for his Majeſty's 'Service to have him come over, I am 'ſure the Promiſe of a Pardon and ſome 'Reward will tempt him. I therefore 'deſire your Lordſhip would ſend me his 'Majeſty's Directions thereupon, which 'I ſhall contrive to perform in the ſafeſt 'Manner for him, and the Perſon who 'is to go between us.'

MANCHESTER.

Two Days after his Lordſhip wrote a Letter to Mr. PRIOR, which is the firſt that has been preſerved, though doubtleſs many preceded it.

SIR, *Paris, Oct.* 31, 1699.

'I SHALL now begin to trouble you 'often, believing you are ſettled in the 'Office, which will be another Sort of 'Life than that in *France*; but when I 'conſider you have ſo worthy a Perſon,

'and

'and ſo good a Friend to act under, I 'then think nothing can ſtand in Com- 'petition with it. I ſhall be every Day 'more ſenſible of the Loſs of you here, 'which I hope you will make up to me, 'by letting me hear often from you. I 'have acquainted my Lord *Jerſey* with 'what * paſſed in relation to me and the '*Portugal* Ambaſſador in the Apartment 'of Monſieur *de Torcy*. He is going a- 'way, elſe it would be impoſſible but 'there muſt be farther Diſputes of that 'Nature. The firſt Opportunity I have, 'I ſhall certainly return his Rudeneſs. 'When you can do it conveniently, put 'my Lord *Jerſey* in mind of what we 'have often diſcourſed about, in relation 'to the Affairs of *France*, and what he 'was ſo kind as to ſay he would prevent, 'if poſſible, when I had the Honour of 'ſeeing him laſt. You can eaſily imagine 'I ſhall not be able to obtain any Thing 'of this Court, if Matters of Moment 'muſt be only tranſacted by Monſieur *de* '*Tallard:* Not that I am deſirous of 'knowing more than what he would think 'proper, in the Poſt I am in. I need not 'tell you that as a great Expence is ne- 'ceſſary here, ſo an Eſteem for the Per-

* The Affront his Lordſhip mentions, was the Ambaſſadors running in before him, contrary to Form, at the *French* Miniſter's.

'ſon

'ſon is as much; and I flatter myſelf I 'ſhall not forfeit it, unleſs this Court finds 'I am only here to make a Show.

'Monſieur *de Tallard* is daily expected, 'and it may be will ſtill make his Com-'plaints, as formerly, of the Delays he 'meets with in *England*. If ſo, I can 'now anſwer him much better, by what 'I have ſeen ſince my coming here.

'The Day of Parade is near, and, with 'the Help of the Advice you give me, 'it will go well. The Calaſh is done, 'and I like it; though I aſſure you the 'Coaches I brought from *England* do ex-'ceed it in Gilding, Painting, and Carving. 'All who ſee it do own, and the *French* 'confeſs, they cannot come up to our 'Gilding, though they pretend theirs will 'laſt longer. I wiſh you was to be here 'for a few Days. The beſt Apartment 'is now *a la Francoiſe*; Velvet and Da-'maſk Chairs with Gold Galoon, the 'Frames gilded, Marble Tables, with 'large Looking-Glaſſes, *&c.* I found it 'was abſolutely neceſſary, and when I 'was doing it, I would do it well. The 'Chapel, which I have enlarged into 'the Garden, looks very handſome.

'I cannot finiſh this, without my Wiſhes 'that you may ſucceed in all Things for 'your Advantage. I am, &c.

MANCHESTER.

Immediately

Immediately after receiving this Letter, Mr. PRIOR was ſent over to Lord *Mancheſter* at *Paris*. We have a ſhort Letter from Lord *Jerſey*, which gives ſome Idea of the Meſſage he was ſent on, and ſhews the great Credit he was in with the then Miniſtry.

To the Earl of MANCHESTER.

My Lord, *Whitehall, Oct.* 23. 1699. O.S.

'I HAVE received your Lordſhip's 'Letter of the 28th of *October*. Be-'fore you receive this, Mr. PRIOR will 'be with you. It is his Majeſty's Deſire 'that you diſcourſe the Buſineſs of the 'Partition Treaty with Mr. PRIOR, who 'has already Knowledge of it; and ac-'cording to the Account your Lordſhip 'gives next of it, you ſhall receive his 'Majeſty's farther Directions. What elſe 'your Letters contain, I muſt beg Leave 'to put off the anſwering it to another 'Time. I am, &c.

JERSEY.

Mr. PRIOR being arrived, Lord *Mancheſter* gave an account of it to Lord *Jerſey*, in a Letter dated *Nov.* 6, 1699, which begins thus.

My

My Lord,

'MR. PRIOR informed your Lord-
'ſhip, by *Wedneſday*'s Poſt, of
'his Arrival here. He having explained
'to me the Subject upon which he was
'ſent, I wrote to Monſieur *de Torcy*, in
'order to procure an Audience, *&c.*"—

This Journey of Mr. PRIOR's, tho' he merrily ſpeaks of it himſelf as if he was only ſent of a Courier's Errand, was a Matter of too much Importance to be paſſed over privately. The *Engliſh* Ambaſſador informs his Friend the Secretary, in another Letter dated *Nov.* 11. 'That he 'thought proper to tell Monſieur *de Torcy*, 'that Mr. PRIOR was there, ſince it was 'impoſſible but that he ſhould have heard 'it'; and his Lordſhip imagined the *French* Miniſter 'might have thought that 'he was not fair with him, if he had 'concealed it'. In the ſame Letter Lord *Mancheſter* mentioned his having applied about bringing the Treaty of *Spain* to a happy Concluſion, and that he was promiſed an Audience on that Affair: Alſo, that he had got M. *Friebergen* to go to the *Portugal* Ambaſſador, for an Explication of his late Proceeding. That Ambaſſador, after a great deal of Diſcourſe, ſaid

ſaid that he had not heard of any Rule eſtabliſhed amongſt Ambaſſadors in their going to Monſieur *de Torcy*; that he was in Haſte when he went in, and did not intend any Affront.

Mr. PRIOR's Stay at *Paris* was very ſhort. In a few Days after Lord *Manchester*'s Writing, he received two Letters, one from the Earl of *Jerſey*, and another from his poetical Friend. Lord *Jerſey*'s has the following Poſtſcript.

'I have received your Lordſhip's of '*Nov.* 11. I told the King the Excuſes 'the *Portugal* Ambaſſador made you, 'which his Majeſty ſeemed ſatisfied with. 'Mr. PRIOR is come; but till Monſieur '*Tallard* comes, you will have no further 'Direction about the *Spaniſh* Affair.'

Mr. PRIOR's Letter we ſhall inſert at large; as indeed nothing ought to be ſuppreſſed that came from him.

To the Earl of MANCHESTER.

My Lord, *Lond. Nov.* $\frac{3}{13}$. 1699.

'I Arrived here on *Friday* Night, and 'every Body confeſſes that only *Roger* 'is fitter than I to be ſent Expreſs: On '*Saturday* Morning my Lord *Jerſey* car-

'ried

'ried me to the King. I firſt read to his 'Majeſty what your Lordſhip ſaid to 'the King of *France*, and what the 'King anſwered thereupon; and then I 'explained to his Majeſty the Subſtance 'of the whole that had paſs'd during my 'being in *France*. His Majeſty is ſatiſ-'fied with every Step your Excellency 'made; and, in one Word, we did as 'we ought to do. His Majeſty aſked 'me a great many Queſtions about your 'Entry. You will eaſily believe I was 'glad, on that Occaſion, to do you Juſ-'tice. His Majeſty asked me about the 'Rank which Monſieur *de Torcy*'s Coach 'had; and in all this Affair, I can aſſure 'your Excellency, he is very well ſatis-'fied. I have ſeen as well *Charles* as '*James Erby*, and *Chriſtopher Montague*. 'I have been asked ten thouſand Queſtions, 'and gave them the News of my Lord '*Mandevil*'s being to arrive at *Paris* within 'theſe ſix Months; for which we wiſh 'all very heartily. I contracted a Cold 'in the Voyage, and wiſely increaſed it, 'by running about theſe two Days. I 'am blooded, and keep my Chamber 'to-day, which is the Reaſon of my 'uſing another Hand: I hope your Ex-'cellency will excuſe it. The King dined 'to-day with my Lord *Rocheſter*, at his 'Houſe near *Richmond*; my Lord *Jerſey*

'is

'is gone to dine with him. Whig and 'Tory are, as of old, implacable. Dr. '*D'Avenant* is coming out with another 'Book, in which he attacks the Grants; 'and is (as I am told) very ſcurrilous a-'gainſt my Lord Chancellor, and our 'dear Friend * *Charles*. This, I think, is 'all the News I have known ſince my 'Arrival. I have only to add my great 'Thanks to your Excellency for your 'Hoſpitality and Kindneſs to me in '*France*, and wiſh you Succeſs in every 'Thing there, with all poſſible Zeal and 'Sincerity, I am, &c.

M. PRIOR.

The Account of what paſſed at Lord *Mancheſter*'s Audience, which Mr. PRIOR ſays he read to his Majeſty, is preſerved entive in *Cole*'s *Memoirs*, to which I am indebted for many Particulars in this Part of our Hiſtory. We have it there both in *French* and *Engliſh*; but the latter is ſufficient for our Purpoſe.

'*Sunday* the 15th of *November*, his Ex-'cellency had an Audience of the King at '*Verſailles*: The Subſtance of which is as 'follows.'

* Afterwards Lords *Halifax*.

His Excellency's Speech.

SIR,

Lord *Manchester's* Audience.

'THE King my Maſter having found 'that Monſieur *de Tallard* was, by 'his Inſtructions, obliged to quit *Holland* 'before he ſigned the Treaty which was 'proj ected with your Majeſty, relating to 'the Succeſſion of *Spain*; His Majeſty has 'ordered me to deſire this private Audi-'ence, to aſſure you, Sir, that the King 'continues in the ſame Sentiments he was 'always of, in regard to that Treaty. 'Your Majeſty knows very well the good 'Offices employ'd by the King my Maſ-'ter, to make the Imperialiſts enter into 'it. He has alſo done all he could to 'make the States like it. His Majeſty 'continues to act as he did. As to what con-'cerns the King's ſigning it, he cauſed 'the Earl of *Jerſey* to come into *Holland* 'expreſly for this End; and I doubt not 'but the Count *de Tallard* will have told 'your Majeſty, how often the King my 'Maſter has offered himſelf to ſign it, 'to ſhew that he was ready to do all that 'depended upon him.

'Your Majeſty will give me Leave to 'be a little long, in telling you how this 'Affair has paſſed; that ſo your Majeſty

'may

'may have it perfectly cleared up, that 'there is no Alteration in the Intention 'of the King my Maſter. The Buſineſs 'was propoſed to the States of the Pro-'vince of *Holland*, as to thoſe who were 'the moſt intereſted in it; for it was not 'apprehended that any Obſtacles ſhould 'be met with elſewhere, if the Conſent 'of that Province was had. That was alſo 'the beſt Way to make the Secret of this 'Affair leſs apt to be divulged.

'Sir, if it has been repreſented to you, 'that the King my Maſter might have 'made uſe of the Credit he has with the 'States to cauſe this Treaty to be con-'cluded; I will own that the King has 'a great deal of Credit in that Country: 'But then this Credit does always con-'form itſelf to the Manners and Cuſtoms 'of the Country; and if the States had 'found no Objection, the Buſineſs could 'not have been ended without the Con-'ſent of every City; which could not be 'had in leſs Time than a Month or three 'Weeks, as the Penſionary and the Earl of '*Portland* have given Count *Tallard* to 'underſtand. But ſince his Orders did not 'give Leave to wait for the Concluſion 'of the Affair, the King my Maſter hopes 'that your Majeſty will renew your Or-'ders to Monſieur *de Tallard*, or will ſend 'Orders to Monſieur *de Bonrepos*, to en-

'deavour to remove all Obſtacles, that ſo 'the Project of the Treaty may have its 'Effect.

The French KING's *Anſwer.*

'I OWN I was a little ſurprized that 'the Affair was not finiſhed at the 'Expiration of the Time, and before the 'King your Maſter ſat out for *England.* 'I am ſatisfied with the Aſſurances which 'you now give me from him, that he 'continues ſtill in the ſame Intention; and 'I hope he will always continue to con-'tribute all he can with the States. As 'for me, I am ſtill of the ſame Mind, 'and I act with the ſame Sincerity. I 'will ſoon ſend Monſieur *de Tallard* with 'the neceſſary Inſtructions.

Lord *Mancheſter* thus continues the Account of what followed. 'When I ſaid, 'That the Reaſon the States of *Holland* 'were not ſooner acquainted with it, was, 'that it could not be propoſed to them, 'till it was known whether the Imperial-'iſts would come in or no: The King 'ſaid, with Warmth, They have had 'Time enough given them, and even too 'much. As to Count *Tallard*'s having 'Orders to come away, the King took 'no Notice of it, nor that he had been

'in-

'informed of every Step. Upon my ſay-
'ing, Monſieur *de Tallard* has been in-
'formed of all that has been done in this
'Affair, and has even ſeen all the Letters
'which Monſieur *Hop* wrote to the Pen-
'ſionary; and it being firſt propoſed to
'the Province of *Holland*, it ſeemed that
'he was ſatisfied in thoſe Points: I took
'Occaſion to ſee if Monſieur *de Bonrepos*
'had any Orders; ſaying, That the King
'my Maſter was deſirous that your Ma-
'jeſty might be informed by Monſieur *de*
'*Tallard*, or Monſieur *de Bonrepos*, of all
'that paſſes; and even the States will al-
'ways have a great regard for all that
'comes from your Majeſty. The King
'anſwered, In this Affair I confided only
'in Monſieur *de Tallard*; and I know
'very well that the King your Maſter has
'more Credit in *Holland* than I on this
'Occaſion. When I ſaid, That the King
'had recommended it to the Care of the
'Penſionary, and that we hoped the Dif-
'ficulties were ſuch as might be ſurmount-
'ed: The King anſwered, That he hoped
'it alſo; and that he imagined Somebody
'ſhould come from the States into *England*,
'and that the Treaty would be ſigned
'there. The King added, I have it, you
'know, under the Hands of the King
'your Maſter, as he has it under mine.
'Then I ſaid, I have alſo, Sir, particular

'Orders to inform your Majesty from the 'King, in what Manner he has kept his 'Word; and that, as he has acted on this 'Occasion with an open Heart, and all 'possible Sincerity; so he will continue 'to act on all other Occasions, that may 'contribute to the strengthening his Friend-'ship and good Correspondence with your 'Majesty. The King answered, You may 'assure the King your Master that I will 'do the same."

Mr. PRIOR returned on the 18th of *November* 1699, N. S. with this Account of the private Audience to *London*. His Lordship's public Audience was immediately after. He writes thus the Day before Mr. PRIOR sat out from *Paris*, and in all Probability by him.

To the Earl of JERSEY.

My Lord, *Paris, Nov.* 17, 1699.

'I Suppose your Lordship will easily 'believe I have but little Time to 'write when you know I am in the '*Hôtel des Ambassadeurs*, and am to have 'to-morrow my Audience at *Versailles*. 'Neither do I think it proper to trouble 'your Lordship with an Account of what 'has been done in Obedience to his Ma-

'jesty's

'jesty's Command, since Mr. PRIOR is 'fully inform'd of all Proceedings, and 'what passed in my private Audience.— 'I shall always discharge his Majesty's 'Orders with all the Secrecy and Care ima- 'ginable; and I am apt to think this Oc- 'casion will make Monsieur *de Tallard* 'take care how he behaves himself; for 'he was not very easy when he found Mr. 'PRIOR was come, and that I was to have 'an Audience.' I am, *&c.*

MANCHESTER.

His Lordship, as he writes in another Letter to the Earl of *Jersey*, went to *Versailles*, and had his Audience, the same Day that Mr. PRIOR left *Paris*. He then found, that what he had discoursed in private to the King had its desired Effect; for Monsieur *Tallard*, who had been called home, was ordered to return to *England* the next Week. 'On the 'whole, says his Excellency, I find the 'Court impatient * till it is done, by M. '*de Torcy*'s saying, no Time was to be 'lost; that the King of *Spain*'s Life was 'very uncertain, and that by the last Ac- 'count they had heard he was ill again.' He adds, 'I hope his Majesty approves of

* Till the Treaty is signed.

'the Account Mr. PRIOR will have given. 'I ſhall continue to obey your Lordſhip's 'Orders, as becomes, *&c.*'——

Soon after, he wrote the following.

To Mr. PRIOR.

SIR, Paris, Nov. 25. 1699.

'I SEND you the encloſed, which I 'took the Liberty to open, not know-'ing but there might be ſome Directions 'for me, by reaſon I had none by that 'Poſt from my Lord *Jerſey* nor Mr. *Yard.* 'I ſuppoſe you will eaſily excuſe it. I de-'ſire you will let my Lord know, that I 'have nothing at preſent to trouble him 'with. I am impatient to know how his 'Majeſty approves of our Proceedings; 'and I muſt put you in mind of the Ca-'talogue of Books, and alſo what Me-'thod I muſt take about the ninety *Louis* 'that you had a Note of; for I intend 'ſoon to ſend the Account of my Extra-'ordinaries. I ſtill continue to make pub-'lic Diſcourſes here, having had my Au-'dience of Madame laſt *Sunday.* I went 'with five Coaches and all the *Engliſh* 'Gentlemen, and twenty-four Men in 'Livery, each of them carrying a white 'Flambeau. I am glad I am coming to a

'Con-

'Concluſion of theſe Vanities, though I 'am ſatisfied it does Service here, and 'makes ſome very uneaſy. I am told 'that one *Ogilby* went from hence on *Sun-* 'day laſt to St. *Valery*, in order to em- 'bark for *England*: That he was to ad- 'dreſs himſelf to my Lord *Drummond* 'upon his Arrival at *London*; and after 'ſome Stay there, to go to Duke *H*—— 'with Meſſages, if not Letters, from the 'Court of *St. Germains*. It is thought it 'might be for his Majeſty's Service to have 'him ſeized; but I cannot give any parti- 'cular Directions where he is to be found. 'The likelieſt Way is by watching my 'Lord *Drummond*. He has been often 'employed between *England* and *France* 'in the late War; ſo that I preſume Mat- 'ter enough may be found againſt him. 'You will acquaint my Lord *Jerſey* of 'this; which will oblige, *&c.*'

MANCHESTER.

This was followed by another in about a Fortnight after.

To

To Mr. PRIOR.

SIR, *Paris, Dec.* 8, 1699.

'I COULD wiſh this Court was ſo well 'inclined as to grant any Favour in 'relation to the *French* Proteſtants: But 'at preſent I cannot ſee any Inclination; 'neither can I hope ever to have ſuch Cre-'dit with Monſieur *de Torcy*, as on my 'own Account to perſuade him: If at 'any Time I ſee a Probability, I ſhall 'not fail to act as is deſired. I have not 'yet made all my Viſits of Ceremony; 'and this Day I am going to the Arſenal. 'You will be ſo kind as to make my Ex-'cuſe to Lord *Jerſey*, having nothing at 'preſent to acquaint him with, only that 'King JAMES continues ſtill ill. His Diſ-'temper is Boils in his Backſide. I do 'not hear there is much Danger, unleſs 'it ſhould turn to a Fiſtula. In a little 'Time you ſhall hear more. Monſieur '*de Tallard* could not be ſo ſoon with you 'as he intended, becauſe the Wind con-'tinued ſome Days againſt him, and ob-'liged him to ſtay at *Calais*. I am glad 'to hear our Proceedings were approved 'of, and I am impatient to know the 'Succeſs of that Matter; though it may

'be

'be I ſhall hear it firſt from Monſieur *de* 'Torcy. I am, *&c.*

MANCHESTER.

In a Letter by the ſame Poſt, to the Right Honourable *Charles Montague*, Eſq; his Lordſhip ſays,

SIR,

'MR. PRIOR's coming here, and 'the private Audience I had of the 'King the Day of my Entry, occaſioned 'much Diſcourſe, and did me Service 'with the Miniſters; for now they ſee 'the King does not rely on Monſieur *de* 'Tallard. —— King JAMES, upon Mr. 'PRIOR's coming hither, believed I was 'to be recalled, and he to be left here; 'which for ſome Time, gave him great 'Satisfaction. It is not agreeable to them 'to ſee me live in ſuch a Manner, that 'none of the *Engliſh* come to *Paris* but 'they addreſs themſelves to me, *&c.*'

MANCHESTER.

We ſee here what Reputation our Poet was in, that King JAMES ſhould ſuſpect his being left Ambaſſador.

On

On the 30th of *November*, O. S. Mr PRIOR wrote the following to Lord *Manchester*.

My Lord, *Whitehall*; *Nov.* 30, *Dec.* 10, 1699.

'MY Indiſpoſition has been ſuch, and I have had ſo little worth troubling you with for theſe two Poſts, that I may eaſily be excuſed for not having writ. My Lord *Jerſey* has for theſe ſix Days had a Fit of the Gout, accompanied with a Fever, which has hardly let him ſtir out of his Bed, and detains him at preſent in a Couch very near it. This is but too legitimate an Excuſe, my Lord, for his not writing to you to-night. Mr. *Yard* tells you the public News, That a Supply was voted to-day; which I think to be the beſt Part of it: For the reſt, Factions and Reflections go on and proſper as formerly. My Lord Chancellor is the Man aimed at, and ſome Grants he enjoys are the viſible Pretext. The King goes to-morrow to *Hampton-Court*, till *Saturday* Night. *Macky* waits to know who is to pay *Roger* the Expreſs's Paſſage: Your Excellency will pay it, and it is to be allowed in your Extraordinaries. For the ninety Pounds expended, I have not had

'an

'an Opportunity of mentioning it, as 'largely as I would, to Lord *Jerſey*. *Bayley* 'is to do whatever he can, to bring over 'la *Perſonne dont il s'agit*, and your Lord-'ſhip is to give him all Encouragement 'and Aſſiſtance: Nothing can be properer 'than the Method we agreed on at *Paris*. 'The *Montagues* are all well; which is 'all I have to add to the great Reſpect, 'with which I am ever, *&c.*'

PRIOR.

'*P. S.* I am to acknowledge the Re-'ceipt of the laſt Letter with which your 'Excellency honoured me. This Moment 'Mr. Powis comes in to me. He does 'not write to your Excellency to-night, 'but by next Poſt will rectify a Miſtake 'committed, as he ſays, in his laſt. *Obrian* 'is this Evening brought to Town.'

It would be impoſſible for any one ſince Mr. Prior's Death, except a Perſon as deeply concerned as he in the Tranſactions of the Times we are upon, to explain all the Secret Hiſtory comprized in the Letters to and from the Earl of *Manchester*. Perſons and Facts are continually ſpoken of in few Words, ſome of which are never mentioned after; and Mr. Prior's Name recurs almoſt every where, as of a Gen-

Gentleman in the higheſt Confidence. Neither the Nature of my Deſign, nor the Room I have preſcribed myſelf, will permit me to make long Reſearches. If I furniſh Memoirs for thoſe who may hereafter compile a more general Hiſtory, to ſupply the Place of what Mr. PRIOR intended, I hope ſufficiently to anſwer the Expectation of my Readers. Some few Remarks however, I ſhall now and then interſperſe, upon thoſe Paſſages which ſeem of greateſt Conſequence. The next Letter will require ſeveral, beſides thoſe at the Bottom of the Page.

To the Earl of MANCHESTER.

My Lord, *Whitehall, Dec.* 7, 1699. O.S.

'THOUGH I have written to you 'by my Lord's Order, * that is his 'Letter; I am to add a Word from my-'ſelf.

'You ſee by the News, which ac-'companies this Letter, what was done 'in both Houſes Yeſterday. In the Upper-'Houſe, the Biſhop of St. *David*'s Buſineſs '† was thrown out; and in the other

* *i. e.* The Earl of *Jerſey*.

† Dr. *Watſon*, who was accuſed of Simony, and afterwards deprived for it.

'Houſe,

'House, Proceedings in relation to *Kidd*'s 'Matter came to nothing: So that we 'gained two Triumphs that Day. *Oh! si 'sic omnia.* The Commons Address you 'you will observe to be somewhat high; 'but the Moderation and Wisdom of the 'King's Answer is thought, even by his 'Enemies, to be inimitable.

'*D'Avenant* has printed his ‖ Book a-'gainst Grants, which I take to be a scan-'dalous Libel against the Government: 'I will send it you when we employ a 'Messenger; for I think it would cost 'you too dear if it came by the Post.

'*Smith*, § who was a Sort of Disco-'verer of the Plot, and printed a Book

‖ Intitled, *An Essay upon Grants and Resumptions.* Octavo.

§ In the Characters of the *English* and *Scots* Nobility, drawn up at the Request of the Princess *Sophia*, by *John Macky*, Esq; which were publish'd by his Son, 1733. Octavo, in the Character of Lord *Peterborough*, p. 64. is this remarkable Paragraph. *viz.*

" His promising Sir *John Fenwick* his Life, if he would " accuse the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, and the Lord *Orford*, " to have a Design to bring in King JAMES; and his " writing a Book, by the Assistance of Dr. *D'Avenant*, " and putting one *Smith*'s Name to it, against that Duke, " lost him with all honest Men; the House of Commons " having voted the *One a scurrilous Design to make a Dif-" ference between the King and his best Friends*; and the " House of Peers having ordered the *Second* to be burnt " by the Hands of the common Hangman."

This Book was intitled, *Memoirs of Secret Service.* By *Matthew Smith*, of the *Inner-Temple*, Esq; Octavo, 1699.

'last

'laſt Year reflecting upon the Duke of '*Shrewsbury*, has printed another now to 'the ſame Tune. *O Tempora! O Mores!* 'Every Man ſays and writes what he will. 'Next Week I intend to come out my-'ſelf with a Panegyric upon the King. 'I am ever, my Lord, with all imagina-'ble Reſpect, *&c.*

M. PRIOR.

Story of *Kidd* the Pirate.

'*P. S.* I do not write to *Stanyan*; for 'he has not a Park, nor a Doe * in the 'World: I mean a Doe fit for a Paſty.

The Affair of *Kidd*, the Commons Addreſs with his Majeſty's Anſwer, and Mr. PRIOR's Panegyric on the King, are three Particulars in this Letter that deſerve to be a little enlarged on.

1. Some Pirates had got together, in the *Indian* Seas, and robbed ſeveral of the *Mogul*'s Ships, in particular one, which he was ſending with Preſents to *Mocha*. Moſt of theſe Pirates were *Engliſh*. The *Eaſt-India* Company having repreſented the Danger of the *Mogul*'s taking Repriſals, it appeared that there was a Ne-

* Mr. PRIOR is waggiſh here. Theſe Gentlemen called their Miſtreſſes their Does.

ceſſity

ceſſity of deſtroying theſe Pirates, who harboured in ſome Creek in *Madagaſcar*. A Man of War was accordingly ſent out to deſtroy them, and *William Kidd*, who knew their Haunts, was pitch'd upon to command it. But as there was not a Fund to bear the Charge of this, becauſe the Money granted for Sea Service was already appropriated; the King propoſed the Management of it by a private Undertaking. Chancellor *Somers*, the Lords *Orford*, *Romney*, *Bellamont*, and ſome others, contributed the whole Expence. The Chancellor underſtood nothing of the Matter, and left the whole Management of it to the Reſt: Only he thought it became the Poſt he was in to concur in ſuch a public Service. The Undertakers had a Grant of all that ſhould be taken from the Pirates. This gave a Handle for Complaint; for as it was unlawful to take the Goods of any Offender, before Conviction; ſo a Parity between that Caſe and this was urged. But in fact the Complaint was groundleſs, the Proviſions of Law being different in the caſe of Pirates, and that of other Offenders; becauſe as the former cannot be attacked but in a Way of War, the Captors ought, according to the Laws of War, to have a Right to all they find in the Enemy's Hands.

However, when *Kidd* was ſent out, he turned Pirate himſelf; which occaſioned a heavy Load to be caſt on the Miniſtry, but chiefly on him who was at the Head of it. The Privateer, it was inſinuated, would not have turned Pirate, but in Confidence of their Protection who employ'd him. So that an Undertaking, which was not only innocent but meritorious, was traduced as a Deſign for Robbery and Piracy. This was urged in the Houſe of Commons, as an Affair highly criminal, for which all concerned in it ought to be diſgraced. A Queſtion was thereupon put, but rejected by a great Majority. This was the Buſineſs of which Mr. PRIOR here ſpeaks, who, as well as the Nobleman he wrote to, was highly concerned at the Tempeſt which ſeemed to threaten Lord *Somers*. But though it paſſed over at preſent, it was afterwards made one of the Articles in his Lordſhip's Impeachment, as we ſhall obſerve in another Place.

Kidd himſelf was taken in *New England* ſome Time after (whither he was retiring with his Booty) by Lord *Bellamont* the Governor, one of his Proprietors; and being ſent to *England*, was tried at a Seſſion of Admiralty in the *Old-Baily*, and condemned and executed for Murder and Piracy. But his Trial and Execution were not till long after his Arrival: For the

Houſe

Houſe of Commons addreſſed his Majeſty, that he might be kept till next Seſſion of Parliament, in hopes to get ſomething from him againſt the Lords above-mentioned: Which they not being able to do, he was given up to Juſtice.

2. The Commons, in their Addreſs, which Mr. PRIOR tells Lord *Mancheſter* he will obſerve to be ſomewhat high, ſet forth, 'That nothing being more neceſ-'ſary for the Peace and Welfare of this 'Kingdom, the quieting the Minds of the 'People, and diſappointing the Deſigns 'of his Enemies, than a mutual and en-'tire Confidence between his Majeſty and 'his Parliament; they did eſteem it their 'greateſt Misfortune, that after having ſo 'amply provided for the Security of his 'Majeſty and his Government, both by 'Sea and Land, any Jealouſy or Difficulty 'had been raiſed of their Duty and Af-'fection to his ſacred Majeſty and his 'People.' They beg Leave 'humbly to re-'preſent to his Majeſty, that it would 'greatly conduce to the continuing and 'eſtabliſhing an entire Confidence between 'his Majeſty and his Parliament, that he 'would be pleaſed to ſhew Marks of his 'high Diſpleaſure towards all ſuch Perſons 'who had or ſhould preſume to miſrepre-'ſent their Proceedings to his Majeſty:

'And that the Commons, having likewiſe 'a due Senſe of the great Care and 'Concern his Majeſty had always ex-'preſſed for preſerving and maintaining 'the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of his 'People (in Defence of which his Ma-'jeſty had ſo often expoſed his Royal Per-'ſon) would uſe their utmoſt Care and 'Endeavours to prevent and diſcourage 'all falſe Rumours and Reports, reflecting 'upon his Majeſty and his Government, 'whereby to create any Miſunderſtanding 'between him and his Subjects.'

The 'moderate and wiſe Anſwer,' return'd by his Majeſty, was as follows.

GENTLEMEN,

'MY Parliament have done ſo great 'Things for me, and I have, upon 'all proper Occaſions, expreſſed ſo great 'a Senſe of their Kindneſs, and my Opi-'nion has been ſo often declared, that 'the Happineſs of an *Engliſh* King de-'pends upon an entire good Correſpon-'dence between him and his Parliament, 'that it cannot ſeem ſtrange for me to 'aſſure you, that no Perſons have yet 'dared to go about to miſrepreſent to me 'the Proceedings of either Houſe. Had 'I found any ſuch, they would have im-

'mediately

'mediately felt the higheſt Marks of my 'Diſpleaſure. It is a Juſtice I owe not only 'to my Parliament, but to every one of 'my Subjects, to judge of them by their 'Actions; and this Rule I will ſteadily 'purſue. If any hereafter ſhall attempt 'to put me on other Methods, by Calum-'nies or Miſrepreſentations, they will not 'only fail of Succeſs, but ſhall be look'd 'upon and treated by me as my worſt 'Enemies.'

GENTLEMEN,

'I am pleaſed to ſee, by your Addreſs, 'that you have the ſame Thoughts of the 'great Advantages which will enſue to this 'Kingdom by our mutual Confidence, as I 'expreſſed to both Houſes, at the Opening 'of this Seſſion. I take very kindly the As-'ſurance you give me of uſing your utmoſt 'Care and Endeavours, to prevent and diſ-'courage all falſe Rumours and Reports, re-'flecting upon Me, and my Government; 'and I faithfully promiſe you, that no 'Actions of mine ſhall give a juſt Ground 'for any Miſunderſtanding between me 'and my People.'

3. Mr. PRIOR's Panegyric upon the King, which he was to publiſh the next Week after writing this Letter, was his

famous *Carmen Seculare*; a Poem which many Judges, for very good Reaſons, have pronounced the moſt ſublime of all his Writings. *Horace*'s Ode with the ſame Title, though undoubtedly it was in ſome Senſe our Poet's Model, muſt be acknowledged to be far inferior to it in true Grandeur of Thought, and Variety of Images.

How does the Character of his Hero riſe under his Hand, and obſcure the Luſtre of all the great Names in antient and modern Story, whoſe Virtues and Faults he has ſtrongly painted in a few bold and ſignificant Lines!

The Son * of MARS reduced the trembling Swains,
And ſpread his Empire o'er the diſtant Plains:
But yet the SABINES violated Charms
Obſcur'd the Glory of his riſing Arms.
NUMA the Rights of ſtrict Religion knew;
On ev'ry Altar laid the Incenſe due;
Unskill'd to dart the pointed Spear,
Or lead the forward Youth to noble War.
Stern BRUTUS was with too much Horror good,
Holding his *Faſces* ſtain'd with Filial Blood.
FABIUS was wiſe, but with Exceſs of Care:
He ſav'd his Country; but prolong'd the War.

* *Romulus.*

While

While DECIUS, PAULUS, CURIUS, greatly fought,
And by their ſtrict Examples taught,
How wild Deſires ſhould be controll'd,
And how much brighter Virtue was, than Gold;
They ſcarce their ſwelling Thirſt of Fame could hide,
And boaſted Poverty with too much Pride.
Exceſs in Youth made SCIPIO leſs rever'd:
And CATO, dying, ſeem'd to own, he fear'd.
JULIUS with Honour tam'd ROME's foreign Foes:
But Patriots fell, e'er the Dictator roſe.
And while with Clemency AUGUSTUS reign'd;
The Monarch was ador'd; the City chain'd.
* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
Turn then to PHARAMOND, and CHARLEMAIN,
And the long Heroes of the GALLICK Strain;
Experienc'd Chiefs, for hardy Proweſs known,
And bloody Wreaths in vent'rous Battles won.
From the firſt WILLIAM, our great NORMAN King,
The bold PLANTAGENETS, and TUDORS bring;
Illuſtrious Virtues, who by turns have roſe,
In foreign Fields to check BRITANNIA's Foes:
With happy Laws her Empire to ſuſtain;
And with full Power aſſert her ambient Main:
But ſometimes too induſtrious to be great,
Nor patient to expect the Turns of Fate,
They open'd Camps deform'd by civil Fight;
And made proud Conqueſt trample over Right:
Diſparted BRITAIN mourn'd their doubtful Sway;
And dreaded both, when neither wou'd obey.

From DIDIER and Imperial ADOLPH trace
The glorious Offspring of the NASSAW Race,

Devoted Lives to publick Liberty;
The Chief ſtill dying, or the Country free.
Then ſee the kindred Blood of ORANGE flow,
From warlike CORNET thro' the Loins of BEAU;
Thro' CHALON next; and there with NASSAW join,
From RHONE's fair Banks tranſplanted to the RHINE.
Bring next the Royal Liſt of STUARTS forth,
Undaunted Minds, that rul'd the rugged North;
'Till Heav'n's Decrees by rip'ning Times are ſhown;
'Till *Scotland*'s Kings aſcend the *Engliſh* Throne;
And the fair Rivals live for ever One.

JANUS, mighty Deity,
Be kind; and as thy ſearching Eye
Does our Modern Story trace,
Finding ſome of STUART's Race
Unhappy, paſs their Annals by:
No harſh Reflection let Remembrance raiſe;
Forbear to mention, what thou canſt not praiſe:
* * * * * * * * * * * *
Whether wouldſt thou further look?
Read WILLIAM's Acts, and cloſe the ample Book;
Peruſe the Wonders of his dawning Life;
How, like ALCIDES, he began;
With Infant Patience calm'd ſeditious Strife,
And quell'd the Snakes which round his Cradle ran.
Deſcribe his Youth, attentive to Alarms,
By Dangers form'd, and perfected in Arms:
When conqu'ring, mild; when conquer'd, not diſgrac'd;
By Wrongs not leſſen'd, nor by Triumphs rais'd:

Supe-

Superior to the blind Events
Of little human Accidents;
And conſtant to his firſt Decree,
To curb the Proud, to ſet the Injur'd free,
To bow the haughty Neck, and raiſe the ſuppliant Knee.
His opening Years to riper Manhood bring;
And ſee the Hero perfect in the King:
Imperious Arms by manly Reaſon ſway'd,
And Power ſupreme by free Conſent obey'd:
With how much Haſte his Mercy meets his Foes;
And how unbounded his Forgiveneſs flows:
With what Deſire he makes his Subjects bleſs'd,
His Favours granted ere his Throne addreſs'd.
What Trophies o'er our captiv'd Hearts he rears,
By Arts of Peace more potent than by Wars:
How o'er himſelf, as o'er the World he reigns,
His Morals ſtrengthening, what his Law ordains.
Through all his Thread of Life already ſpun,
Becoming Grace and proper Action run:
The Piece by Virtue's equal Hand is wrought,
Mix'd with no Crime, and ſhaded with no Fault:
No Footſteps of the Victor's Rage
Left in the Camp, where WILLIAM did engage:
No Tincture of the Monarch's Pride
Upon the Royal Purple ſpy'd:
His Fame, like Gold, the more 'tis try'd,
The more ſhall its intrinſick Worth proclaim;
Shall paſs the Combat of the ſearching Flame,
And triumph o'er the vanquiſh'd Heat,
For ever coming out the ſame,
And loſing nor its Luſtre, nor its Weight.

The

The Arts of Verſification are no where more happily employ'd, than in the following curious Stanza.

Science to raiſe, and Knowledge to enlarge,
Be our great Maſter's future Charge;
To write his own Memoirs, and leave his Heirs
High Schemes of Government, and Plans of Wars;
By fair Rewards our noble Youth to raiſe
To emulous Merit, and to Thirſt of Praiſe;
To lead them out from Eaſe ere opening Dawn,
Through the thick Foreſt and the diſtant Lawn,
Where the fleet Stag employs their ardent Care;
And Chaſes give them Images of War.
To teach them Vigilance by falſe Alarms;
Inure them in feign'd Camps to real Arms;
Practiſe them now to curb the turning Steed,
Mocking the Foe; now to his rapid Speed
To give the Rein; and in the full Career,
To draw the certain Sword, or ſend the pointed Spear.

I will mention but one more Paſſage; for to point out all the Beauties in this Ode, I muſt inſert the whole. It is where he ſhadows out the Power of a Tyrant under the Image of a Comet, and compares that of his Sovereign to the regular Light of the Sun.

Thro' the large Convex of the Azure Sky
(For thither Nature caſts our common Eye)
Fierce Meteors ſhoot their arbitrary Light,
And Comets march with lawleſs Horror bright:

Thoſe

Thoſe hear no Rule, no righteous Order own;
Their Influence dreaded, as their Ways unknown:
Thro' threaten'd Lands they wild Deſtruction throw;
'Till ardent Prayer averts the publick Woe:
But the bright Orb that bleſſes all above,
The ſacred Fire, the real Son of JOVE,
Rules not his Actions by capricious Will,
Nor by ungovern'd Power declines to Ill:
Fix'd by juſt Laws, he goes for-ever right;
Man knows his Courſe, and thence adores his Light.

But to return to our Correſpondence. We find that Lord *Mancheſter* was extremely watchful over King JAMES's Court, and procured Intelligence of almoſt every Perſon that went from *England* to *St. Germains*. There are many Inſtances of this in his Letters, of which I will here inſert one from a Letter to Lord *Jerſey*, dated *December* 23, 1699, becauſe it mentions our Poet.

'Mr. PRIOR may remember, that 'I talked to him, when he was here 'laſt, about taking up one *Claude*, a '*Frenchman*, as he ſays he is, who ſerved 'the late Lord *B——l*, in order to ex-'change him for *Pierre Perault*, or *Ar-'nold*. If your Lordſhip be of that Mind, 'he is almoſt every Day at the *Dog*-Ta-'vern in *Drury-Lane*; and *Couchman*, 'the Meſſenger, will be a proper Perſon

'to

'to apprehend him, becauſe he was acquainted with him when he was at *Paris*. This *Claude* was much at *St. Germains*, while he ſtaid in *France*, and endeavoured to ſeduce ſeveral *Engliſh* thither. But that which will be a better Reaſon for ſeizing him, is his having attended *Richardſon*, one of the Aſſaſſins, while he was concealed in the late Lord *B——l*'s Houſe; which, I am told, he bragged of when he was here laſt.'

His Lordſhip was alſo very careful, continually to tranſmit freſh Accounts of the State of King JAMES's Health, who was a long Time afflicted with a dangerous Diſorder near his Fundament, which at laſt proved the Occaſion of his Death. He writes thus to Mr. PRIOR.

SIR, *Paris, Jan.* 2. 1700.

'HAVING writ ſo lately, by Mr. *Stanhope*, to the Earl of *Jerſey*, I do not trouble him now. I muſt deſire you to make my Excuſe, and acquaint him with the Contents of this. There is nothing at preſent acting at *St. Germains*, King JAMES being not well, and giving himſelf wholly up to Devotions and Prayers. The Wound, which was very large, is healed; but it is thought they have done it too ſoon, becauſe the

'ſame

'ſame Humours run all over his Body, 'ſometimes in his Stomach, Legs, *&c.* 'He is extremely broke, and moſt Men 'are of Opinion he cannot recover, tho' 'he may go on ſome time as he is. Fa-'ther *Coſmo* is run away with fifty thou-'ſand Livres, which he had in his Hands, 'and which he was to diſtribute among 'the *Iriſh*. They think he may be gone 'for *England*, ſince he cannot be ſafe in 'any other Place. If I learn any thing 'of him you ſhall hear from me: Never-'theleſs, it may not be improper to make 'ſome Enquiry after him; and you will 'find by my former Accounts, where his 'Acquaintance live in *London*. I was 'Yeſterday at *Verſailles*, where I made a 'Compliment to the King and the reſt of 'the Court, it being *New-Year's-Day*. 'I dined with Monſieur *de Boufflers*. I 'find them all very civil; but how long 'it will laſt you can beſt judge. I wonder 'my Servant has not been with you; the 'Buck-Seaſon muſt make it up. We want 'two Poſts, having had no Letters ſince 'the 31ſt of *December* laſt.' I am, *&c.*

MANCHESTER.

Father *Coſmo*, as we learn from his Lordſhip's Letter of *Jan.* 13, to the Earl of *Jerſey*, was a *Scotch* Prieſt, whoſe right

right Name was *Clark*. 'I hear, ſays 'he, that he is got to *Leyden* in *Holland*, 'where I preſume it may not be difficult 'for his Majeſty to get him ſeized, ſince 'it is certain that he had a great Share 'in the late King's Confidence in ſeveral 'Matters. I am in hopes he may be more 'eaſy in making an ingenuous Confeſſion, 'becauſe he can have no farther Proſpect 'of Advantage this Way, after having 'cheated them ſo groſly; at leaſt, when 'he is once in Cuſtody, it will be no hard 'Matter to extort the Truth from him. 'He is a very tall thin Man, long-viſaged, 'has a high *Roman* Noſe, with a freſh 'Complexion, which, 'tis ſaid here, he 'painted, and is about thirty-eight Years 'of Age. I believe Mr. PRIOR has ſeen 'him, and can deſcribe him more exactly.' And in another, a Fortnight after, his Lordſhip ſays, 'They had that Confidence in '*Coſmo*, *alias Clark*, that the Duke of '*Berwick* lent him his Calaſh, thinking he 'would return the ſame Day: But he went 'with it to *Leyden*, and ſince that they 'hear he is at *Amſterdam*. He knows 'the whole Proceedings of that Court; 'ſo that if he could be taken, he would 'probably confeſs all, there being no Pro-'ſpect for him to return hither.——Mr. '* *Minnis*, who went from hence in

* See P. 116.

'*Auguſt*

'*Auguſt* laſt, correſponds with Lord *Middleton*, as alſo one *Netherville*. I believe 'Mr. PRIOR knows them both.'

One of the principal Facts mentioned in Mr. PRIOR's next Letter to the Earl of *Mancheſter*, has been before taken notice of, p. 56 of this Work.

To the Earl of MANCHESTER.

My Lord, *Whitehall, Jan.* 18. 1700. O.S.

'WE have this Morning two Poſts 'from *France*, of the 20th and '23d. My Lord *Jerſey* commands me 'to acknowledge your Letter to him; 'and to tell you, that the Houſe of Lords 'ſitting ſo late, and he being obliged, af-'ter its riſing, to go to *Kenſington*, is the 'Reaſon why he does not write to you. 'You will ſee, by the Incloſed, what a 'Day's Work has been performed in the 'Houſe of Commons; the *Iriſh* Grants 'to be re-aſſumed, and not even the third 'Part of them to be reſerved to the King; 'and the Miniſtry, ſome of our Friends 'particularly, meaned and aimed at in 'the latter Part of their Vote. This all 'comes like a Torrent; and the few that 'would, cannot. In the Houſe of Lords, 'the King is a little more civilly uſed. 'As to the Buſineſs of *Darien*, his Ma-

'jeſty

'jesty is at least justified in his Letters to 'the Governors of the Plantations. Thus 'we are, my good Lord, scrambling, and 'doing our best on one Side against the 'other, who are very troublesome, not 'to say dangerous.

'We hear of the Complaints you make 'from Monsieur *de Tallard*, and prepare 'to redress them as well as we can. As 'to the Persons mentioned in your Letter, 'Care will be taken.

'The King has not yet seen Lord *Ba-'zil*, or any Address from him. I do 'not hear that this Lord's Countrymen 'are quieter. I know not how far your 'House's Resolution of to-day will go 'towards calming them. I am ever, *&c.*

M. PRIOR.

Tho' Mr. PRIOR at this Time was not either Secretary of State or Ambassador, yet it seems as if neither of those Ministers had so much Knowledge as himself of the most private Affairs. A certain Person often mentioned under the Distinction of *la Personne dont il s'agit*, who was to give some signal Light into the Transactions then on foot, appears to have been referred, at first, almost entirely to Mr. PRIOR's Direction. Lord *Jersey* says, in a Letter to the Earl of *Manches-*

ter,

ter, That 'he did not find the King wil-
'ling to be at a great Expence about the
'*Perſonne dont il s'agit*, without ſome
'Aſſurance of the Service he could do:
'That Mr. PRIOR had been ill, which
'was the Reaſon he could not know of
'him in what this Perſon could be moſt
'uſeful. In the mean Time, he deſired
'his Lordſhip to keep this Matter on
'foot, and let him know his Opinion,
'as to the Expence and Advantage they
'might have by it.' To which the Earl
of *Mancheſter* gave this Anſwer. 'I de-
'ſire to know his Majeſty's Directions in
'regard to *la Perſonne dont il s'agit*. Be-
'ing informed where he was at *Paris*, I
'thought it proper to bring this Matter
'to a Concluſion, and that Mr. *Stanyan*
'ſhould write to deſire to ſpeak with him;
'which accordingly he did, and the Per-
'ſon conſented to meet him. The Pro-
'poſal that was made to him was, that
'in caſe he would go for *England*, and
'declare the Truth of all he knew, and
'even give Evidence, in caſe there was
'any Occaſion, and ſerve the King and
'Government to the beſt of his Power, I
'had Orders to aſſure him of His Ma-
'jeſty's Pardon, and that he and his Fa-
'mily ſhould be taken care of, he having
'alſo a Wife and Children. He ſeemed
'to embrace this Propoſal very well; ſay-

'ing, whereſoever he engaged, he would 'be zealous in their Service: That for 'St. *Germains*, he had ſerved them faith-'fully; but thought, that after the Uſage 'he had met with, he had no farther Ob-'ligation: But ſtill inſiſted, that he did 'not know how to bring himſelf to give 'public Evidence in a Court. Mr. *Stan-'yan* gave him ſuch Reaſons, that this 'Matter is over with him. They have 'met ſince, and the only Difference that 'now remains, is, that he inſiſts to be at 'a Certainty, and to know what will be 'allowed him, and he ſeems to deſire a 'Sum of Money, rather than ſo much 'yearly. Mr. *Stanyan* endeavoured to 'know what he expected, but could not 'prevail with him to name any Thing; 'ſaying, his Demands might be ſuch, 'that I ſhould not think proper to write 'and propoſe them. Mr. *Stanyan* ſaid, 'he thought, that tho' it might not be 'granted, yet he hoped I would write; for 'that he could not engage in this Matter, 'unleſs he was certain of what he might 'depend on. Mr. *Stanyan* is of Opinion, 'that he is ſincere, and may be of great 'Service: But nothing can be done 'with him, unleſs I propoſe ſomething 'of this Nature. Therefore, if your 'Lordſhip will let me know the King's 'Pleaſure, how much I may offer, and

'in

'in what Manner; I will do it in the 'beſt Way I can for his Majeſty's Service:' His Excellency ſays in the ſame Letter, that 'he had encloſed a Paper for Mr. 'PRIOR, concerning ſome Things at '*Paris*.'

To this Lord *Jerſey* reply'd, that having received his Lordſhip's, which had been acknowledged by Mr. PRIOR, 'He 'had laid the Subſtance of them before 'his Majeſty: That as to *la Perſonne*, the 'King would give him a Pardon; and for 'his Encouragement, Lord *Mancheſter* 'might offer him as far as four or five 'hundred Pounds, and a Penſion of three 'Pounds a Week: That this would an-'ſwer all Objections he could make, and 'be ſufficient to gain him, provided there 'were a fair Intention on his Side; for 'he might be ſure to be ſubſiſted accord-'ing to what he ſhould diſcover: That 'upon this Intimation his Lordſhip might 'proceed, as he ſaw the Thing appear 'upon further Diſcourſe.'

It is in the following Letter, that Mr. PRIOR acknowledges the Receipt of Lord *Mancheſter*'s above referr'd to. But the moſt remarkable Part of it, is the honeſt Concern he expreſſes for the furious Attack that was expected upon the great Lord *Somers*. Never was Servant more faithful,

nor Friend more ſincere and hearty than he, to all who merited his real Eſteem. We ſhall diſcover more of the ſame Nature in other Letters.

To the Earl of MANCHESTER.

My Lord, *Whitehall, Feb.* $\frac{12}{23}$. 1700.

'MY Lord *Jerſey* gives me in Charge 'to own the Receipt of your Let-'ters, of the 16th and 17th, the Sub-'ſtance of which my Lord will lay be-'fore his Majeſty the firſt Opportunity.

'If you hear no more of the great Af-'fair, it is becauſe nothing is tranſacted 'in it farther than when your Excellency 'was laſt adviſed of it; conſequently *Ro-'ger* is not yet diſpatched.

'I muſt congratulate your Happineſs, 'that you are out of this Noiſe and Tu-'mult, where we are tearing and deſtroy-'ing every Man his Neighbour. To-'morrow is the great Day when we ex-'pect that my Lord Chancellor will be 'fallen upon; though God knows what 'Crime he is guilty of, but that of being 'a very great Man, and a wiſe and upright 'Judge. Lord *Bellamont*, you will read 'in the Votes, was fallen upon to-day; 'thus every Day a Miniſter, till at laſt we 'reach the King. By next Poſt I ſhall,

'I

'I preſume, be able to write to you what 'relates to Matters on your Side: I am 'heartily tired with them on our Side.'

I am, *&c.*

M. PRIOR.

The Great Affair mentioned again in Mr. PRIOR's next Letter, of which Count *Tallard* was to give an Account, ſeems to be the concluding ſome private Treaty, in all Probability the ſecond Partition.

To the Earl of MANCHESTER.

My Lord, *Whitehall, Feb.* 22, 1700. O.S.

'I HAVE no particular Commands 'from your Lordſhip; ſo can only 'acknowledge the Receipt of the *French* 'Letters of the 24th and 27th. The 'great Affair was tranſacted this Morning, 'though I believe Count *Tallard* will not 'be able to ſend his Expreſs away theſe 'two or three Days. My Lord *Jerſey* 'ſtill keeps his Bed, his Gout had a Fe-'ver which accompanied it; but, God be 'thanked, both thoſe Diſtempers abate, 'and I hope by next Poſt he will tell you 'ſo in his own Hand. In the mean Time, 'we take what Care we can about the

'Contents of your laſt Letter to my Lord; 'tho', God knows, all the Care we take 'ſignifies little, conſidering how we are 'reſtrained as to the taking any Body, 'though the Informations given make it 'highly neceſſary for the public Good: 'But you know *England* well enough in 'this Point, my Lord.

'The Speaker's Illneſs gives the Houſe 'of Commons leave to play till *Monday*. 'The Addreſs they preſented Yeſterday to 'the King, he anſwered very civilly, but 'ſmartly: I have not yet the Words, but 'ſhall ſend them with the firſt. The 'Senſe was, That he was ſenſible the Na-'tion lay under great Taxes; that he had 'and would contribute to the eaſing them 'by every Way which was juſt; that he 'thought he had the Power of gratifying 'ſome who had been actually in the Re-'duction of *Ireland*, out of what was 'his.

'I had written your Lordſhip a long 'politic Letter, for I thought that *Roger* 'would have been diſpatched to you; but 'ſince there are no Particularities in the 'Affair I have ſpoke of, I have ſent Word 'to Mr. *Woolaſton*, that *Roger* may ſtay 'to go over with the Midwife for my 'Lady: *Quod felix Fauſtumque ſit*, &c.

'If I might ſpeak my particular Senti-'ments concerning *la Perſonne dont il*

'*s'agit*,

'*s'agit*, I would have him well ſifted, 'and tried if he means to act in earneſt, 'and is really diſpoſed to the Thing; o-'therwiſe we may be bantered, to ſay no 'worſe of it: But this is only to yourſelf, 'my Lord, and from him who is eter-'nally, with great Reſpect, *&c.*'

M. PRIOR.

His Excellency acknowledged the Receipt of this, in one a few Days after to Lord *Jerſey*, wherein he expreſſes his Concern at his Lordſhip's Illneſs. And then ſpeaking of ſome Affairs that were then tranſacting at the *French* Court, about the Principality of *Orange*, he ſays, 'The 'Account of this I ſuppoſe your Lord-'ſhip will have received from Mr. PRIOR, 'whom I acquainted with it by Mr. *Stan-'yan*, having been of late out of Order.'

His being a public Miniſter, and employed in the moſt weighty Affairs, did not make Mr. PRIOR forget his Relation to the Seat of the Muſes, the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, of which he was a Fellow, and where he was this Year created Maſter of Arts by *Mandamus*, * fourteen Years after he had taken his Batchelor's Degree. He ſpeaks of the Univerſity as 1700.

* He took his Degree of Batchelor in 1686.

if it had been his conſtant Reſidence, and one would take him rather for the Maſter of a College, who had no other Concerns but thoſe of Learning, than for a Gentleman immerſed in national Buſineſs, with whom literary Affairs could have but a ſecond Place.

To the Earl of MANCHESTER.

My Lord, *April* 1, 1700. O.S.

'FOR above theſe two Months paſt, 'I have not had an Opportunity of 'ſending over a *Horace*, which we print-'ed at *Cambridge*, and which my Lord 'Duke of *Somerſet*, our Chancellor, pre-'ſents to the King of *France*'s Library, 'with a Letter which his Grace writes on 'that Subject to the Abbé *de Louvois*: 'But I have at laſt ſent them by a Foot-'man who quitted my Service. The Book 'and Letter will be, or are already, de-'livered to Mr. *Stanyan*, and the Favour 'we beg of your Excellency is, that you 'would honour this Book with a Word, by 'which the Court of *France*, and parti-'cularly the Archbiſhop of *Rheims* and 'Abbé *Louvois* may take notice, that the 'Univerſity of *Cambridge* would eſtabliſh 'a fair Correſpondence with the Learned 'on your Side. By next Poſt, I ſhall

'write

'write ſomething to the *Soubibliothecaire*,* 'Monſieur *Clermont*, concerning the *Greek* 'Cyphers we would buy of them: In 'this I muſt likewiſe deſire your Lord-'ſhip's good Offices, ſince without your 'appearing to be concerned in it, we ſhall 'hardly make our Matters bear as we de-'ſire. Monſieur *Friebergen* came on *Fri-'day*. I have not yet ſeen him. I am, *&c.*

M. PRIOR.

The two next Letters contain a very brief, but affectionate Account of the Diſputes then ſubſiſting in Parliament, of which we have before taken ſome † notice, and which ended in the Fall of thoſe great Men who were levelled at by the Party againſt the Court.

To the Earl of MANCHESTER.

My Lord, *Whitehall, April* 10, 1700. O.S.

'HAVING written for my Maſter, 'I have very little to add for my-'ſelf; except that I am very glad my 'Lord *Mandeville* is come to Town, 'and hope he will ſtay long with us. I 'am glad he was born at *Paris*, for had

* Under-Librarian. † See Page 56. ‖ The Earl of *Manchester*'s Son.

'he

'he been born here, he would have liked 'living among us ſo little, that I queſtion 'whether he would have thought it worth 'his while to have ſucked. The Votes 'of to-day pretty well explain what I 'mean. God knows how the Buſineſs 'will turn, or where this Violence of the 'Houſe of Commons will end. The 'Lords ſeem as yet to adhere to their 'Point: On *Wedneſday* we expect the Iſ-'ſue of all this. *Seymour* * plainly ſaid 'to-day, that the Original of all this pro-'ceeded from the Miniſters, and from 'the chief of them, the Chancellor. 'Many other angry Sayings of this kind 'have been vented; and in the Heat of 'this Hurry *Kidd* is arrived, and ſent up 'for, with his Papers, by an Order from 'the Admiralty. Our Friend † has ſaid 'nothing of late in the Houſe of Com-'mons. My Lord Chancellor is very ſick. 'This is the *Abbregé* of our Caſe, I think 'no very good one. I am going to *Ken-'ſington* the Moment after I have told 'you, that I am, *&c.*

M. PRIOR.

* Sir *Edward Seymour.*
† Mr. *Montague,* late Earl of *Halifax.*

To the Earl of MANCHESTER.

My Lord, *Whitehall, April* 11, 1700. O.S.

'OUR long Seſſion is this Day, God be thanked, finiſhed; the *Iriſh* Grants reſumed, and the Commons ſatisfied, at leaſt for ſome Time. Yeſterday was indeed a great Criſis, from the Morning, when it was doubtful if the Lords would adhere to their Amendments or no. The Commons fell directly upon impeaching. The Perſons they named were my Lords *Portland* and *Albemarle*; the Articles upon which they were going, for procuring for themſelves exorbitant Grants. In this State the Affair laſted till after the ſecond Conference with the Lords; and immediately upon the Managers returning from the Conference, the Houſe, though they thought the Lords would recede, locked themſelves up till ten at Night, of which you ſee the good Effects in the Votes. They threw Fire about at every Body; had a great Mind to fling at our Friend *Charles:* You ſee what they would have done to my Lord Chancellor, and how Duke *Schomberg*, and Lord *Portland* ſuffer in their Addreſs, that Strangers ſhall not be Privy-Councillors. God knows

'knows whether this Heat would have 'gone, if it had not been timely diſpatch-'ed by every Body's ſtriving to come in; 'ſo this Bill paſſed: Upon the Main, we 'have Life for ſix Months longer, and '* *alors comme alors.*

'The Affair upon which I came into '*France*, will be quite ended to-night. 'Your Lordſhip will pretend, in any Diſ-'courſe you may have on that Subject, 'to think it was quite ended three Weeks 'ſince, or at leaſt, that you heard nothing 'to the contrary. I hope my Lord *Man-'deville* is well, and his beautiful Mother, 'whom the *French* Ladies will talk to 'Death, unleſs you get your Doors locked 'up, like thoſe of the Houſe of Com-'mons.

'My Lord commands me to acknow-'ledge yours of the 17th, and ſays, the 'perpetual Hurry in which we have been, 'muſt ſerve for a Reaſon that as yet he 'has not ſpoke to the King to be your 'Goſſip: But this, my Lord ſays, is a 'Favour which he doubts not but the 'King will grant, and he will tell you ſo 'himſelf next Poſt. I am, *&c.*

M. PRIOR.

* Then we ſhall ſee what muſt be done.

As

As ſoon as Buſineſs would permit, Mr. PRIOR falls again upon his *Horace* and his *Greek* Types. It was, no doubt, the moſt agreeable Part of his Life, when he could appear as the Gentleman and the Scholar, rather than as the Stateſman. His mixing every where ſo much of the two former Characters, even when he writes in the latter, is a ſufficient Evidence of this Truth. Lord *Mancheſter*'s Anſwer to the next Letter is alſo very polite, and immediately follows it.

To the Earl of MANCHESTER.

My Lord, *Whitehall, April* 18, 1700. O.S.

'OUR Parliament Affairs being at length finiſhed, we have a little Time to think on our private Devoirs. I muſt therefore beg your Excellency (if you have not done it already) to give the *Horace*, and the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Letter, to *Abbé de Louvois*, making the Archbiſhop of *Rheims* acquainted with the Duke's Preſent, and the Deſire we have to correſpond with the Learned at *Paris*. I have written to Mr. *Clermont* what the Univerſity deſires, as to the procuring us ſome *Greek* Types. If your Excellency expends the Money, and are pleaſed to draw

' upon

'upon me, I will anſwer the Bills: I 'ſhould be glad they could be got ready 'ſoon. I ſhould not dare to trouble your 'Excellency, but that your Protection to 'the Univerſity is abſolutely neceſſary on 'this Occaſion.

'His Majeſty goes to-morrow to '*Hampton-Court*, and will ſtay there, we 'ſay, theſe ſix Weeks. At the End of a 'Seſſion of Parliament, you know, we al-'ways talk of a Change in the Miniſtry. 'We do ſo at preſent, but upon what 'Ground I know not. I am, *&c.*'

M. PRIOR.

To Mr. PRIOR.

SIR, *Paris, May* 5. 1700.

'THE Court being at *Marly*, Mon-'ſieur *de Torcy* will not be in Town 'till to-morrow; ſo I muſt make my 'Excuſe to my Lord *Jerſey* by you, for 'my not writing. My Wife lays all the 'Fault on you, that we have not yet 'heard, if we may give the Little-one 'the King's Name, and I dare not ven-'ture without knowing that poſitively: 'So that, at preſent, you are a little out 'of Favour, and will be ſo unleſs we hear 'by the next Letters.

'I

'I ſhall do all I can to ſerve the Uni-
'verſity, and ſhall take care about the
'*Horace*, when I have it. Mr. *Stanyan*
'will acquaint you how that Matter
'ſtands, and how this Book is ſeized at
'*Diepe*. I have not ſeen the Archbiſhop
'of *Rheims* for ſome Time, and I believe
'he is gone to his Dioceſe.

'Several of the great Men here will
'dine with me to-morrow, and among
'them the Mareſchal *de Villeroy*. He
'will certainly ask after you, as he often
'does. The little Hopes our Friends at
'*St. Germains* have left, is in *Scotland*,
'and if that fails, all Things will be
'quiet till the next Meeting of the Par-
'liament. I think inſtead of a Change
'in the Miniſters, we ſhould have a new
'Parliament; that would be more for
'the King's Service. Not much Good
'can be expected from a laſt Seſſion.
'We hear the King intends to go for
'*Holland* next Summer. When that is
'certain, pray let me know it, which
'will oblige, *&c.*

MANCHESTER.

The Earl ſeems to have been very ſol-
licitous about getting his Majeſty to be
his Son's Godfather: But by what appears
in the foregoing, it was chiefly to humour
his

his Lady, who might be fond of that Honour. He writes again on that Head to Lord *Jerſey*, telling him, that 'he was 'in hopes to have heard, by his Lord-'ſhip's laſt Letter, that his Majeſty would 'do him the Honour to chriſten his Son: 'But he feared the great Hurry his Lord-'ſhip had been in, had prevented his 'Speaking: That he ſhould ſtay till the 'next Poſt, and then take the Liberty to 'give him the King's Name; ſince, by 'Mr. PRIOR's, his Lordſhip ſeemed to 'think that Favour would not be denied '. him.'

Before Mr. PRIOR's next Letter, Lord *Somers* was actually removed, as we learn from his mentioning the ſuppoſed Offer of his Place to Lord Chief Juſtice *Holt*. His Majeſty, finding there was ſtill a ſtrong Party among the Commons againſt that able and faithful Miniſter, tho' the Majority was ſtill warm in his Defence, was pleaſed to take the great Seal from him, and give it to Sir *Nathan Wright*, a Man in no Senſe equal to his illuſtrious Predeceſſor. This tame Submiſſion of the King to the Violence of a Minority, againſt a Perſon of ſuch Eminence and Credit, was thought to be the Occaſion of his loſing many Friends; as was alſo his unalienable Attachment to the Earl of *Albemarle*, the

Lord *Somers* removed.

the then Favourite, whom, to the general Diſguſt of the Nobility, he created a Knight of the Garter.

To the Earl of MANCHESTER.

My Lord, *Hampton-Court, May* 2, 1700. O.S.

'I AM to acknowledge the Receipt of 'your Letter of the 8th. I do not 'believe there will be Occaſion for *Roger*'s 'Stay. As the Affair of Sir *William*, '*&c.* has gone through the Hands of the 'Church, ſo it is convenient that it ſhould 'ſo continue: And as to the Great Affair, 'I ſhall take Care to manage it as you 'have already done, in relation to that 'Perſon's knowing it, whom you mention 'in your Letter. The Thing itſelf can-'not, I think, in its own Nature, be long 'a Secret: God only knows what Effect 'it may have when it comes out, ſo ſtrange 'a People are we, and ſo reſolved not to 'be pleaſed with any Thing. I ſhall 'be able, in a Poſt or two, to ſend *Bro-'card* ſome Money, out of which your 'Excellency will repay yourſelf what you 'have expended, before you give or order 'him the reſt. I believe, there is no great 'Matter to be known; but ſuch as it is, 'he muſt be encouraged.

'I have only in Charge, from my Lord '*Jerſey*, to own the Receipt of yours of 'the 8th, and to tell your Lordſhip, that 'he will anſwer you, by ſending away 'your Expreſs with the firſt Opportunity. 'My Lord Chief Juſtice *Holt* having been 'here to-day, and with the King in pri-'vate, has given People Occaſion to ſay, 'that he has refuſed the Seals: If it be 'ſo, or not, I cannot ſay; but as yet the 'Seals are not diſpoſed of. The King, 'God be thanked, is well; which is all 'the News I can ſend you from this Place. 'I dined to-day with Mr. *Montague* here, 'and drank my Lord *Mancheſter*'s Health.

I am, *&c.*

M. PRIOR.

This is the laſt Letter we have of Mr. PRIOR's Writing while he was in the Secretary's Office. On *Midſummer-Day*, his old Maſter, the Earl of *Jerſey*, was made Lord Chamberlain. And the famous Mr. *Locke* reſigning ſoon after his Place of Commiſſioner of Trade and Plantations, on account of his ill State of Health, Mr. PRIOR was appointed to ſucceed him. In this leſs burdenſome, and more profitable Employment, he continued ſeveral Years, till the Miniſtry had again need of him towards the End of Queen ANNE's Reign.

Mr. PRIOR made Commiſſioner of Trade and Plantations.

Theſe

Theſe Alterations however, though they were talked of at the breaking-up of the Seſſion, were not expected immediately before they happened, even by Mr. PRIOR himſelf. We learn this from a Letter of Lord *Mancheſter* to him, in anſwer to one that is not in being.

To Mr. PRIOR.

SIR, *Paris, June* 30, 1700.

'I DO not write by this Poſt to my 'Lord *Jerſey*, becauſe Mr. *Stanyan* 'intends to ſet out on *Friday* next; and 'by him I will let his Lordſhip know what 'occurs.

'I find by yours, of the 13th Inſtant, 'O.S. that there are not to be any Changes. 'By this I ſee the Town follows its old 'Cuſtom of placing and diſplacing ſeveral. 'As for my own Particular, I ſhall never 'like *France* ſo well as not to wiſh to be 'at home. You know the *French* very 'well, and I believe you find the Diver-'ſions at *Hampton-Court*, where I hear 'you are often, more to your Satisfaction 'than any Thing here.

'The News we have at preſent is, that 'the Pope has made a Promotion for the 'Crowns, *viz.* the Archbiſhop of *Paris* '(who was Yeſterday at *Verſailles* to thank

'the King) for *France*; the Biſhop of 'Paſſaro, for the Emperor; and *Borgia*, 'a Canon of *Toledo*, for *Spain*. There 'are ſtill two in *Petto*. We have ſome-'times Reports here of the King's being 'indiſpoſed; but I hope it is not true.

I am, *&c.*

MANCHESTER.

But within ten Days after his Lordſhip writes in another Strain, and with a very honeſt Concern for his Friend's Proviſion.

To Mr. PRIOR.

SIR, *Paris, July* 10, 1700.

'I WAS very ſorry to hear my Lord '*Jerſey* had quitted the Office, and 'much more ſo, becauſe you alſo leave it. 'I ſuppoſe you have long foreſeen this, 'and cannot but take care of yourſelf, 'being upon the Place: For you often 'ſaid, Men were forgot when abroad. 'The Hopes you give, that I am to cor-'reſpond with Mr. *Vernon*, makes me 'more eaſy than I ſhould have been.

'The Ambaſſador of *Savoy* was with 'me, to let me know, that the Duke his 'Maſter had ordered Monſieur *de la Tour*,

'who

'who was formerly his Envoy in *England*, 'to return thither with the ſame Cha- 'racter. This will cauſe a great Diſcourſe, 'becauſe he was his chief Miniſter: But 'the Reaſon why he comes is not hard 'to gueſs. I was in hopes to have heard 'ſomething concerning Sir, *&c.* whoſe 'Letter I ſent lately to *England*. As 'ſoon as I hear from my Lord *Jerſey*, I 'ſhall not fear to congratulate with him.

I am, *&c.*

MANCHESTER.

Mr. PRIOR was not fond of writing Letters, when it was no longer a Part of his Buſineſs. We have only one more of his to Lord *Mancheſter*, and that above half a Year after his laſt. As it relates chiefly to the State of Affairs in that troubleſome Winter, it will lead us to take a more particular View of ſome Matters therein mentioned, and others that are omitted.

To the Earl of MANCHESTER.

My Lord, *Dec.* 10, 1700. O.S.

'I AM indebted to my good Lord '*Mancheſter* for two or three Letters; 'and it would be unreaſonable, if I did

'not take the Opportunity of Mr. *Chet-*
'*wynd*'s Return, to tell your Lordſhip
'what I know of the State of Things
'here. That we ſhall have a new Par-
'liament, is, I think, certain; at leaſt as
'far as I can ſee into the Matter. What
'Sort of Parliament it may prove, I can-
'not any ways foreſee; but ſure there
'never was ſo much Work, as at preſent,
'in ſecuring Parties and bribing Elections.
'Whig and Tory are railing, on both
'Sides, ſo violent, that the Government
'may eaſily be over-turned by the Mad-
'neſs of either Faction. We take it to
'be our Play to do nothing againſt com-
'mon Senſe or common Law, and to be
'for thoſe who will ſupport the Crown,
'rather than oblige either Party; and in
'order to this, Men are preferred who
'are looked upon to be honeſt and mo-
'derate. In this Number (whether with
'Reaſon or not, Time muſt decide) we
'comprehend our * Lord-keeper and our
'new † Secretary. Lord *Rocheſter* and
'Lord *Godolphin* are in the Cabinet-Coun-
'cil; the latter is at the Head of the
'Treaſury; the former (we take it for
'granted) is to go Lord-Lieutenant of
'*Ireland*, though it be yet a ‖ Secret.

* Sir *Nathan Wright*. † Sir *Charles Hedges*.
‖ It was not a Secret long.

'The

'The * two Companies are to be brought 'to an Agreement (if poſſible), and Mr. '† *Montague*'s being made a Peer (we 'take it for granted) may contribute to this 'Union; ſince, being in the Houſe of 'Commons, he would make an ill Figure, 'if he either declined to ſupport the new, 'or ſhould find too great an Oppoſition in 'his endeavouring ſo to do. As to the ‖ 'Great Affair, I preſume the King will 'wholly defer it to the Parliament, and 'act conjointly with their Conſent; which 'I take to be the only Method. All that 'I can ſay more on this Head, is, that I 'take it to be happy for the King, that 'the Will is preferred by the *French*, at 'a Time when every Body was peeviſh 'againſt the Court (though with Reaſon 'God knows) about the Treaty. Count '*Tallard* makes a fooliſh Figure here: I 'do not know, as yet, what he ſays to 'the King on this Occaſion; but every 'Body obſerves his Excellency to be very 'melancholy and deſponding; and one 'may judge he has Reaſon to be ſo, as 'to his own Particular, concerning the 'Part he has been made to act, however 'his Country in general may approve their 'Monarch's Breach of Truth and Treaty.

* The *Eaſt-India* Companies. † Earl of *Halli-fax.* ‖ The *Spaniſh* Succeſſion.

'This I think is the preſent Figure of our 'Affairs, which I am glad to write to 'ſo good a Friend as my Lord *Mancheſter*; though to moſt of the World here, 'I am of Opinion that to ſay leaſt is to 'do beſt. Your Friend my Lord *Jerſey* 'grows very much a Miniſter, and is in 'a fair Way of being very great. As to 'my own Affairs, I have a great many 'Friends who would ſet me up at *Cambridge*: I know I ſhall find great Oppoſition from Mr. *Hammond*'s Party there, 'and great Trouble, in caſe I ſhould throw 'him out, from thoſe Men, who will 'never be ſatisfied, let me act as I will or 'can. If your Lordſhip thinks it con'venient, I know you will not refuſe me 'your Letter to the Univerſity. My Lord '*Sandwich* is gone to *Hinchinbrook*, I 'hear, in order to ſet up *Charles Boyle* a'gainſt Mr. *Wortley Montague*'s Intereſt 'at *Huntington*: *Vive la Guerre*, whoſo'ever is choſen or caſt out, or on what 'Side ſoever Things turn.

I am, moſt truly, *&c.*

M. PRIOR.

P. S. 'Though I am no longer in a Se'cretary's Office, Veniſon would not poi'ſon a Commiſſioner of Commerce, and

'Does

'Does are now in Seaſon; which it may 'be uſeful to inform Mr. *Woolaſton* of, 'when next your Lordſhip writes to him.

We have here an Account of Mr. PRIOR's political Principles under his own Hand. 'He went with the Honeſt and Moderate,' and was 'rather for ſupporting the Crown, 'than obliging either Party.' This was undoubtedly to purſue the true Intereſt of his Country, at a Time when 'Whig and Tory, as he expreſſes it, were both ſo violent, that the Government might eaſily have been overturned by the Madneſs of either Faction.' It has all along been owing to Men of this true *Britiſh* Spirit, that the Revolution has been ſupported on its original Foundation.

Notwithſtanding the Zeal of Mr. PRIOR's Friends to get him choſen for *Cambridge*, he made himſelf a Candidate for *Eaſt Grinſtead* in *Suſſex*, and was there elected. The Parliament met on the 6th of *February* 170$\frac{0}{1}$, and choſe *Robert Harley*, Eſq; afterwards Earl of *Oxford*, their Speaker. We muſt give the Hiſtory of the moſt material Tranſactions in this remarkable Seſſion.

Mr. PRIOR choſen a Member of Parliament.

1700.

While the King was in *Holland* the preceding Summer, the Nation was ſenſibly afflicted by the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Death: But Means were happily found, at

Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Death and ſettling of the Succeſſion.

at the Meeting of the new Parliament, to repair that public Loſs, and ſecure the Proteſtant Intereſt in theſe Kingdoms, by ſettling the Succeſſion in the preſent illuſtrious Royal Family. This Affair was concerted at *Loo*, whither the Prince chiefly concerned came to viſit his Majeſty, ſoon after the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Death. The King, however, in his Speech to both Houſes, did not ſo much as hint at the Perſon he was deſirous to favour on this Occaſion; though he very earneſtly preſs'd the making of ſome Proviſion for extending the Succeſſion in a Proteſtant Family. But the Parliament, no doubt, were informed of what had previouſly been tranſacted; and the lineal Right of the Houſe of *Hanover*, when all Papiſts were excluded, was too apparent to be paſſed over.

Precaution of the Parliament.

It is worth while, in this Place, to take notice of the new Limitations of the Crown, which an *Engliſh* Parliament, always jealous of the People's Liberties while itſelf is free, thought proper to add to thoſe that had been already made. The Advantages gain'd by the Revolution, though very many and great, the Commons did not think ſufficient for our perpetual Security. Kings and Miniſters, they knew, were Men of the like Paſſions with themſelves; and if the favourite Paſſion

of

of any Future Ones ſhould be to extend the Prerogative, or take any Meaſures that were inconſiſtent with the true Intereſt of the People, they thought too much Precaution could not be had to prevent its taking Effect. Yet tho' always watchful over the People's Rights, they are ever apt enough to make Conceſſions, to a Prince in whom they can confide: Witneſs their giving up many of the following Reſtrictions, upon the Arrival of his late Majeſty, who they truſted would make no ill Uſe of any Part of his Prerogative.

Articles of Limitation of the Crown.

'I. That all Things relating to the well-governing of this Kingdom, which 'are properly cognizable in the Privy-'Council, ſhall be tranſacted there; and 'all Reſolutions taken thereupon ſhall be 'ſigned by the Privy-Council,

'II. That no Perſon whatſoever, who 'is not a Native of *England*, *Scotland*, 'or *Ireland*, or the Dominions thereto 'belonging, or who is not born of *En-'gliſh* Parents beyond the Seas, ſhall be 'capable of any Grants of Lands, Te-'nements, or Hereditaments from the 'Crown to himſelf.

'III.

'III. That in caſe the Crown ſhall 'come to any Perſon not a Native of 'England, this Nation ſhall not be obliged 'to engage in any War for the Defence 'of Dominions not belonging to the Crown 'of England, without the Conſent of Par-'liament.

'IV. That whoſoever ſhall hereafter 'come to the Poſſeſſion of this Crown, 'ſhall join in Communion with the Church 'of England, as by Law eſtabliſhed.

'V. That no Pardon be pleadable to 'any Impeachment in Parliament.

'VI. That no Perſon who ſhall hereafter 'come to the Poſſeſſion of this Crown, 'ſhall go out of the Dominions of En-'gland, Scotland, or Ireland, without 'Conſent of Parliament.

'VII. That no Perſon who has any 'Office under the King, or receives a 'Penſion from the Crown, ſhall be ca-'pable of ſerving as a Member of the 'Houſe of Commons.

'VIII. That farther Proviſion be made 'for the confirming of all Laws and Sta-'tutes, for the ſecuring our Religion, and 'the Rights and Liberties of the People.

'IX.

'IX. That Judges Commiſſions be 'made *quam diu ſe bene geſſerint*, and 'their Salaries aſcertained; but, upon the 'Addreſs of either Houſe of Parliament, 'it may be lawful to remove them.

'X. That the Princeſs *Sophia*, Dutcheſs 'Dowager of *Hanover*, be declared the 'next in Succeſſion to the Crown of *En-* 'gland, in the Proteſtant Line, after his 'Majeſty and the Princeſs, *&c.*'

King of *Spain*'s Death, and the Conſequences of it.

But the Event of this Year that moſt immediately regards Mr. PRIOR's Hiſtory, was the Death of the King of *Spain*, and the fatal Conſequences of the *French* King's Ambition, which now laid the Foundation of the long War that followed. That Prince's promoting the Treaties of Partition, I have before obſerved, was only to amuſe the neighbouring Powers, eſpecially His *Britannic* Majeſty, and prevent their keeping a ſtrict Watch over his Proceedings, while he made all the neceſſary Advances for putting his Deſigns in Execution. The ſecond Treaty had been propoſed, according to Agreement between the contracting Parties, to other Courts, for their Acceptance and Guaranty. But it was thought ſo ſtrange and unprecedented an Affair, that it does not appear any one

one Prince accepted of it. The Emperor in particular thought himſelf aggrieved, becauſe he had a Right to the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy.

King WILLIAM and the States had certainly no other View in this Treaty, but to eſtabliſh the Peace and Tranquillity of *Europe*, and to form a Barrier in the *Netherlands*, for the Security of the United Provinces: But the *French* had very different Deſigns; which they clandeſtinely carried on. They procured a Will from the dying King, ſigned the 2d of *October* N. S. which conſtituted the Duke of *Anjou*, ſecond Son to the Dauphin, his univerſal Heir, in default of Iſſue; and made other Proviſions for continuing the Succeſſion. This memorable Will was the Contrivance of the Marquis *d'Harcourt* and Cardinal *Portocarrero*, and the King ſurvived it but barely a Month, dying on the firſt of *November*.

His Will.

A Copy of this Will being ſent to the Court of *France*, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſeemed to be in ſuſpence, whether he ſhould accept it, or obſerve the Treaty of Partition. But this was a Feint only; for he did not long waver in his Reſolution. On the 16th of *November* the Duke of *Anjou* was declared King of *Spain* in the *French* Court, and proclaimed at *Madrid* on the 24th of the ſame Month.

Duke of *Anjou* proclaimed.

The

The new elected Pope, *Clement* XI, and the Emperor, proteſted againſt this Step. The *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Miniſters likewiſe repreſented, That it was not agreeable to the Treaty of Partition, ſo lately ſigned. But the *French* King anſwered, 'That the 'principal Deſign of that Treaty being to 'prevent the Union of the Kingdoms of '*France* and *Spain* under one Sovereign, 'this was effectually provided for by the 'Will; the Heirs of the Duke of *Anjou* 'being rendered incapable of the Crown 'of *Spain*, if they ſucceeded to that of '*France*: So that the Spirit and Inten-'tion of the Treaty was ſtill complied 'with, though it might be contrary to 'the Letter of it.' Adding, 'That his 'Grandſon's Title by the Will accruing 'ſince that Treaty, could not be affected 'by it.' This was *French* Sophiſtry with a Witneſs, and in the true Spirit of LEWIS the XIVth, who, while he was thus gloſſing over his Treachery, had two remarkable Inſtruments drawn up at *Paris*, to preſerve the Duke of *Anjou*'s Title to the Crown of *France*, in caſe his elder Brother died without Male, which by the Salic Law is the only heritable, Iſſue.

The Duke of *Bavaria*, Governor of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, yielding up at the ſame Time all the Towns and Fortreſſes in that Country to the *French* King, with

with their Garriſons, which were partly compoſed of *Dutch* Troops, the States, rather than enter into an immediate War, while their Frontiers were expoſed, and run the Hazard of loſing thoſe Forces that were in the *Spaniſh* Towns, thought fit to acknowledge the Duke of *Anjou* for King of *Spain:* Whereupon the *French* ſuffered the *Dutch* Troops in *Flanders* to return home, without Moleſtation.

The new Parliament, as before related, being met, the Lords, foreſeeing the Conſequences of the late Revolution upon the King of *Spain*'s Death, addreſſed his Majeſty, 'That he would enter into all Al-'liances with ſuch foreign Powers as 'were willing to unite for the Preſervation 'of the Ballance of Power in *Europe*.' All Things now ſeemed advancing to a Criſis; and as the Tranſactions in Parliament, which immediately followed, have the moſt ſtrict Connexion with the foregoing Parts of this Hiſtory, I ſhall give them in the Words of one of our * Hiſtorians, who appears to have related them the moſt conciſely.

'On the 18th of *March* his Majeſty 'ſent a Meſſage to the Commons by Mr. 'Secretary *Hedges*, to acquaint them, that

* Mr. *Salmon*.

'Mr.

'Mr. *Stanhope*, his Envoy at the *Hague*, 'having tranſmitted to his Majeſty Copies 'of the Demands made by himſelf, and 'the Deputies of the States, to the *French* 'Ambaſſador, he had thought fit to com- 'municate the ſame to the Commons, 'intending to acquaint them from Time 'to Time with the Progreſs of thoſe Ne- 'gotiations.

'By the Memorials mentioned in the 'King's Meſſage, the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* 'Miniſters demanded of the *French* Am- 'baſſador, that his Maſter ſhould with- 'draw his Troops out of the *Spaniſh Ne- 'therlands*, and allow a ſufficient Barrier 'for the Security of *England* and the 'States-General; to which that Ambaſ- 'ſador did not think fit to return any 'Anſwer.

A Barrier demanded by the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*.

'The Commons, having conſidered 'the King's Meſſage, and the Treaty of 'Partition, at the ſame Time preſented 'his Majeſty an Addreſs; wherein they 'thanked him for his gracious Meſſage, 'and repreſented the ill Conſequences of 'a Treaty of Partition (paſs'd under the 'Great Seal during a Seſſion of Parlia- 'ment, and without the Advice of the 'ſame) to this Kingdom, and the Peace 'of *Europe*, whereby ſuch large Territo- 'ries of the King of *Spain*'s Dominions

The Commons addreſs againſt the Partition Treaty.

'were to be delivered up to the *French* 'King.

'His Majeſty took no notice of the 'Partition Treaty in his Anſwer to the 'Commons; only told them, he was 'glad they were pleaſed with his com-'municating to them the State of the 'Negotiations, which he ſhould continue 'to inform them of, and receive their 'Advice thereupon; being perſuaded, no-'thing could contribute more to the Hap-'pineſs of this Kingdom, and the Peace 'of *Europe*, than the Concurrence of the 'Parliament in all his Negotiations, and 'a good Underſtanding between him and 'his People.

'The Houſe of Peers had, two or 'three Days before, *viz.* on the 20th 'of *March*, preſented an Addreſs to his 'Majeſty, declaring their Senſe of a Par-'tition Treaty; wherein they repreſent to 'his Majeſty, that having read and con-'ſidered the ſaid Treaty of the 3d of '*March*, 1700, N. S. made with the '*French* King, together with the ſeparate 'and ſecret Articles which he had been 'pleas'd to communicate to them, they 'had, to their great Sorrow, found the 'Matters thereof would be of very ill 'Conſequence to the Peace and Safety of '*Europe*; for that, beſides the Occaſion 'it might have given the late King of

The Lords addreſs againſt the Treaty of Partition.

'*Spain*

'*Spain* to have made his Will in favour
'of the Duke of *Anjou*; if that Treaty
'had taken Effect, the Prejudice to his
'Majeſty and his Subjects, and indeed to
'all *Europe*, by the Addition of *Sicily*,
'*Naples*, ſeveral Ports of the *Mediterra-*
'*nean*, the Province of *Guipuſcoa*, and
'the Dutchy of *Lorain*, had been not
'only very great, but contrary to the Pre-
'tence of the Treaty itſelf, which was
'to prevent any Umbrage that might have
'been taken, by uniting ſo many States
'and Dominions under one Head: That
'by all the Informations they had had of
'the fatal Treaty, they could not find,
'that the verbal Orders or Inſtructions (if
'any were given to his Majeſty's Pleni-
'potentiaries) were ever conſidered in any
'of his Majeſty's Councils, or that the
'Draught of that Treaty had ever been
'laid before his Majeſty at any Meeting
'of his Council, much leſs that it was
'adviſed or approved of by any Council
'or Committee of Council: Wherefore
'they thought themſelves bound in Duty
'to his Majeſty, and Juſtice to their Coun-
'try, moſt humbly to beſeech him, that
'for the future he would be pleaſed to
'require and admit, in all Matters of Im-
'portance, the Advice of his natural-born
'Subjects, whoſe known Probity and For-
'tunes might make him and his People

Cenſure the negotiating it without the Advice of the Council.

'a juſt Aſſurance of their Fidelity to his 'Service; and that in order thereunto, he 'would be pleaſed to conſtitute a Council 'of ſuch Perſons, to whom his Majeſty 'might be pleaſed to impart all Affairs, 'both at home and abroad, which might 'any way concern him and his Dominions: 'For, as Intereſt, and natural Affection 'to their Country, would incline them 'to wiſh the Welfare and Proſperity of it, 'much more than others who had no ſuch 'Ties upon them; and as their Experi-'ence and Knowledge of their Country 'would alſo render them more capable 'than Strangers of adviſing his Majeſty 'in the true Intereſt of it; ſo they were 'confident, that after ſuch large and re-'peated Demonſtrations of his Subjects 'Duty and Affection, his Majeſty could 'not doubt of their Zeal in his Service, 'nor want the Knowledge of Perſons fit 'to be employed in all his moſt ſecret and 'ardous Affairs: And that ſince it ap-'peared the *French* King's accepting of 'the King of *Spain*'s Will, was a mani-'feſt Violation of that Treaty, they 'humbly adviſed his Majeſty, in future 'Treaties with that Prince, to proceed 'with ſuch Caution, as might carry a 'real Security.

'His

'His Majeſty, having received the Lords 'Addreſs, anſwered, That it contained 'Matters of very great Moment, and he 'would always take care, that all Trea- 'ties he made ſhould be for the Honour 'and Safety of *England*. The King's Anſwer to it.

'Soon after this, the Earl of *Portland* 'being charged directly in the Houſe of 'Peers with negotiating the ſaid Treaty, 'his Lordſhip ſaid in his Excuſe, That 'the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Jerſey*, and *Marl-* '*borough*, the Lords *Somers*, *Lonſdale*, 'and *Halifax*, had their Share in that 'Negotiation: To which thoſe Peers re- 'plied, They did acknowledge they had 'ſeen the Draught of the Treaty; but 'that the Earl of *Portland* had drawn it 'up himſelf in *French*, and they had ne- 'ver given nor refuſed their Conſent to 'it, becauſe the Treaty was never com- 'municated to the Privy-Council. Ma- 'ny warm Speeches were made upon this 'Occaſion, reflecting upon the Court: 'Nor did the Houſe of Commons leſs 'reſent the huddling up thoſe Treaties in 'the dark, than the Houſe of Peers: Mr. '*How*, particularly, ſaid, that the Parti- 'tion Treaty was a felonious Treaty; com- 'paring it to the Diſtribution of other 'Mens Goods amongſt Highwaymen. The Earl of *Portland* charged with making this Treaty, and Lord *Somers*, *Halifax*, &c. with adviſing it.

'While the Houſes were engaged in 'theſe angry Debates, the King ſent an-

The *English* and *Dutch* demand Satisfaction for the Emperor, as well as a Barrier.

'other Meſſage to the Commons the 30th 'of *March*, acquainting them, that Mr. '*Stanhope* had delivered another Memo-'rial to the *French* Ambaſſador at the '*Hague*, requiring, that reaſonable Satiſ-'faction ſhould be given to the Emperor 'upon his Pretenſions to the *Spaniſh* Suc-'ceſſion: That the *French* King, by a 'ſhort and limited Time, ſhould with-'draw all his Troops out of the *Spaniſh* 'Netherlands, and that the Towns there 'ſhould be garriſoned by *Walloon* or *Ne-'therland* Troops, except ſuch Places as 'were reſerved for the Security of *England* 'and *Holland:* That for the particular Se-'curity of *England Oſtend* and *Newport*, 'ſhould be garriſoned by *Engliſh* Forces: 'That no Places belonging to *Spain*, ſhould 'ever be alienated or transferred to *France*, 'or come under the Power of the *French* 'King: That the Subjects of *England* 'ſhould have the ſame Privileges within the '*Spaniſh* Dominions, as at the King of '*Spain*'s Death, and be upon the ſame foot, 'with reſpect to Trade in the *Spaniſh* Do-'minions, as the *French:* That *France* and '*Spain* ſhould ſolemnly engage to obſerve 'theſe Particulars; and that the Treaty 'ſhould be guaranteed by ſuch Powers, as 'the contracting Parties ſhould deſire.

'That the *Dutch* had preſented a Me-'morial of the ſame Tenor; wherein

'they

'they had demanded *Venlo*, *Ruremond*, '*Stevenſwaert*, *Luxemburg*, *Namur*, *Char-* 'leroy, *Mons*, *Dendermonde*, *Damme*, 'and *St. Denys*, for their Barrier.

'But that the *French* Ambaſſador had 'given the Miniſters of *England* and *Hol-* 'land no other Anſwer, than that his 'Maſter would obſerve the Peace of *Ryſ-* 'wick; they muſt expect no other Secu- 'rity. That his Majeſty alſo had received 'a Memorial from the States, deſiring 'him to haſten the Succours *England* had 'agreed to ſend them by the Treaty of 'the 3d of *March*, 1677: Upon all which, 'his Majeſty deſired the Commons would 'give him ſuch Advice, as might be for 'their own Security, that of the States- 'General, and the Peace of *Europe*.

The Anſwer of the *French*.

The States deſire the *Engliſh* Succours.

Upon which, the King demands the Advice of the Commons.

'The Houſe, taking this Meſſage into 'their Conſideration on the 2d of *April*, 'reſolved, unanimouſly, to adviſe his Ma- 'jeſty to carry on the Negotiations in 'concert with the States-General, and take 'ſuch Meaſures therein, as might moſt 'conduce to their Security: And that 'his Majeſty would purſue the Treaty 'made with the States-General the 3d of '*March*, 1677; aſſuring him, that this 'Houſe would effectually enable him to 'ſupport the ſaid Treaty of 1677: Where- 'upon the King thank'd them for the 'Aſſurance they had given him, and ſaid,

They deſire him to act in concert with the *Dutch*. And promiſe to ſupport him.

'He did not doubt but the Readineſs they 'had ſhewn on this Occaſion, would very 'much contribute to the obtaining ſuch 'a Security as was deſired.

'His Majeſty obſerving, however, that 'though the Commons were very ready 'to aſſiſt both the *Dutch* and the Empe-'ror, to obtain a ſufficient Barrier againſt '*France*, yet they did not at all incline 'to the entering into a War, for the Re-'covery of the Kingdom of *Spain* from 'the Duke of *Anjou*, thought fit, after 'he had thoroughly weigh'd all Circum-'ſtances, to acknowledge the Duke's Ti-'tle to the Crown of *Spain*, and con-'gratulate him on his Acceeſſion, by the 'following Letter, *viz.*

Moſt Serene and Potent Prince, our dear Brother and Ally.

The King acknowledges the Duke of *Anjou* K. of *Spain*, and congratulates his Acceſſion.

'WE have received your Majeſty's 'Letter of the 24th of *March* 'laſt, which has been very acceptable to 'us upon many Accounts: Firſt, becauſe 'it brought us Notice of your ſafe Arri-'val into your Kingdom of *Spain*, and 'of your coming to the Poſſeſſion of it, 'and taking upon yourſelf the Govern-'ment of the Dominions thereunto be-'longing: And in the ſecond Place, be-'cauſe they have made it plain to us,

'that

'that your Majeſty hath a Mind to continue, and keep inviolably, that moſt antient Alliance which is between the two Crowns. Indeed, we have willingly embraced this Occaſion, both to congratulate your Majeſty's happy Exaltation to the *Spaniſh* Throne, and to ſhew you how much Eſteem we have for your Majeſty, and how much we deſire to make it appear to you, that our Inclination doth moſt readily prompt us to endeavour what we can, that the mutual Conjunction of Friendſhip and Alliance between us may be confirmed and knit faſter, and the common Good of the two Nations may daily more and more flouriſh and be promoted; which we hope alſo will redound to the public Benefit and Good of all *Europe:* What remains, is to commend and commit your Majeſty to the Care and Protection of Almighty God.

Given at our Palace at Kenſington, *the* 17*th Day of* April, 1701, *and the* 13*th Year of the Reign of your Majeſty's moſt loving Brother and Ally.*
Sign'd,

GULIELMUS REX.

'The King of *England*, as well as the States, having now recogniz'd *Philip* King of *Spain*, the Conferences at the *Hague*

'*Hague* were reſumed between the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Miniſters, and Monſieur *D'Avaux*, the *French* Ambaſſador there, for ſettling a Barrier, purſuant to the Advice the Commons had given his Majeſty.

The Earl of *Portland* impeach'd for negotiating the Partition Treaty.

'In the mean Time the Commons continued to conſider the Partition Treaty, and who were the Adviſers of it; and in the Beginning of *April* came to a Reſolution, *That* William, *Earl of* Portland, *by negotiating and concluding the Treaty of Partition, which was deſtructive to the Trade of this Kingdom, and dangerous to the Peace of* Europe, *was guilty, and ſhould be impeached, of high Crimes and Miſdemeanours*; and Sir *John Leviſon Gower*, by Order of the Houſe, went up to the Lords Bar, and there impeached the ſaid Earl, acquainting them, that they would in due Time exhibit Articles againſt him: Immediately after which, the Commons, at a Conference, deſired their Lordſhips to commnnicate to them what Informations their Lordſhips had received, of any Tranſactions relating to the Negotiations or Treaties of Partition of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy: Whereupon their Lordſhips delivered to them the two *Latin* Commiſſions of Powers, granted to the Earls of *Portland* and *Jerſey*, for

'ne-

'negotiating the ſaid Treaties, the one 'dated the firſt of *July*, 1699, the other 'the 2d of *January*, 1700: As alſo a 'private Paper of the Lord *Portland*'s, 'in which Secretary *Vernon* adviſes him 'to negotiate the firſt Treaty.

'On the 14th of *April*, the Commons 'being in a Debate, whether they ſhould 'impeach the Lord *Somers* for adviſing 'the ſaid Treaty, that Lord deſired to be 'heard before they came to any Reſolu-'tion, and was admitted into the Houſe, 'where he made an Apology for his Con-'duct; but being withdrawn, the Com-'mons came to a Reſolution, That *John* 'Lord *Somers*, by adviſing his Majeſty, 'in the Year 1698, to the Treaty for 'Partition of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, 'whereby large Territories of the King 'of *Spain*'s Dominions were to be deli-'vered up to *France*, was guilty of a high 'Crime and Miſdemeanor; and Mr. *Har-'court*, accordingly, by the Command of 'the Commons, impeached that Lord at 'the Bar of the Houſe of Lords, declar-'ing, that the Houſe would in due Time 'exhibit Articles againſt him.

Lord *Somers* impeach'd for adviſing the Partition Treaty.

'The Lord *Somers*, at his Hearing be-'fore the Commons, delivered the Copies 'of two Letters to the Houſe; the firſt 'of which he received from the King, 'deſiring his Advice in the firſt Treaty

'of

'of Partition; and the ſecond was his Lord-'ſhip's Anſwer to it.' Theſe Letters I have before inſerted in their * proper Place.

The Commons addreſs his Majeſty to remove the Lords *Somers*, *Portland*, *Halifax*, and *Orford*, from his Councils.

'The Commons proceeded, on the 23d 'of *April*, to preſent an Addreſs to his 'Majeſty; wherein they repreſent the 'great Satisfaction they had in their En-'quiry concerning the Treaty of Parti-'tion made in 1698 (on which the Trea-'ty in 1699 was founded) to obſerve his 'Majeſty's Care in not entering on that 'Negotiation without the Advice of his '*Engliſh* Counſellors; and finding, that '*John* Lord *Somers*, on whoſe Judgment 'his Majeſty chiefly relied in that impor-'tant Affair, did, in concert with *Edward* 'Earl of *Orford*, and *Charles* Lord *Ha-'lifax*, adviſe his Majeſty to enter into 'that Treaty of ſuch dangerous Conſe-'quence, without the Advice of his Coun-'cil; that they might no longer be able 'to deceive his Majeſty, and abuſe his 'People, they deſired he would be pleaſed 'to remove the ſaid *John* Lord *Somers*, '*Edward* Earl of *Orford*, and *Charles* 'Lord *Halifax*, from his Council and Pre-'ſence for ever; as alſo *William* Earl of '*Portland*, who tranſlated thoſe Treaties; 'and concluded with repeating their Aſ-'ſurances to ſtand by and ſupport his Ma-'jeſty to the utmoſt of their Power.

* See Page 45.

'To

'To which his Majeſty anſwered, He 'thanked them for their Aſſurances of 'ſupporting him, and ſhould employ none 'in his Service, but ſuch as were like to 'improve that mutual Truſt and Confi-'dence between them, which was ſo ne-'ceſſary at that Conjuncture for their Se-'curity, and the Preſervation of their 'Allies.

'On the contrary, the Houſe of Lords '(in which the Courtiers had had a Ma-'jority for ſome Time) though they had 'themſelves ſaid very hard Things of the 'Partition-Treaty, and the Manner of 'tranſacting it, in their Addreſs; yet, in 'behalf of theſe their favourite Brethren, 'they now preſented an Addreſs of an-'other Strain; wherein they beſeech his 'Majeſty not to paſs any Cenſure on thoſe 'Lords, until they were tried upon the 'Impeachments the Commons had pre-'ferred againſt them. Thus Matters 'reſted till the 5th of *May*, when the 'Lords ſent a Meſſage to the Commons, 'to remind them that there were yet no 'Articles preferred again the impeached 'Lords; whereupon the Commons, on 'the 9th of the ſame Month, ſent up 'Articles againſt *Edward* Earl of *Or-*'*ford*, in Maintenance of their Impeach-'ment.

The Houſe of Peers addreſs the King not to remove thoſe Lords.

They remind the Commons that no Articles were ſent up againſt the impeached Lords.

'The

Articles against the Earl of *Orford.*

'The Articles againſt the Earl of *Orford* ſet forth, That he, preferring his 'private Intereſt to the publick Good, had, 'during an expenſive War, procured ſe-'veral Grants from his Majeſty of Lands 'and exorbitant Sums of Money: That 'while he commanded the Royal Navy in 'the *Streights*, he received the public Mo-'ney, and converted it to his private Uſe, 'and then procured a Privy-Seal to diſ-'charge him of it: That he received con-'ſiderable Sums from the King of *Spain* 'alſo, with great Quantities of Wine, Oil, 'and other Proviſions for the Fleet, which 'he converted to his own Uſe: That he 'ſold and diſpoſed of ſeveral Veſſels as 'Prizes without Condemnation: That, 'preſiding in the Commiſſion of Lord 'High-Admiral, he had rejected the Re-'queſt of the *Eaſt-India* Company for 'ſuppreſſing Pirates, and had procured a 'Commiſſion for *William Kidd*, who had 'committed Piracy, encouraged thereto 'by his Hopes of the Earl's Protection: 'That while he commanded the Royal 'Navy, he loſt ſeveral Opportunities of 'deſtroying the Enemy's Ships, and that 'he adviſed the King to enter into the 'Treaty of Partition, which was pre-'judicial to the Nation; with ſome other 'Things of leſs Moment.

'To

'To which the Earl anſwered, That his Majeſty, in Conſideration of his Ser- vices for many Years, had voluntarily made him a reverſionary Grant for the Value of about ten thouſand Pounds: That he had legally paſs'd his Accounts for all Monies he had received on ac- count of the Public: That whatever he received of the King of *Spain* for the Fleet, was duly diſtributed among the Seamen: That he conſtantly gave Orders for proceeding againſt the Prizes that were taken according to Law: That he never diſcouraged the *Eaſt-India* Company's Requeſt for the ſuppreſſing of Pirates: That *Kidd*'s Commiſſion was granted according to Law, and intended for the public Good; and, if he had committed Piracy, he was never encou- raged in it by the Earl: That he had not neglected his Duty againſt the Ene- my; and, conſidering his Services againſt the *French* Fleet, he did not expect to be charged therewith: And denies, that he adviſed his Majeſty to enter into the Partition Treaty, for he objected to it, he averred, and gave his Opinion againſt the ſame. The Earl's Anſwer.

'The Commons alſo on the 19th of *May*, ſent up Articles againſt the Lord *Somers*; wherein they charge him with adviſing the Partition Treaties, and paſ- ſing, Articles againſt the Lord *Somers*.

'ſing, both the Powers to treat, and the 'Treaties themſelves, under the Great 'Seal, without the Knowledge of the 'Council or the other Lords-Juſtices, leav-'ing one entire Blank Sheet, with ſeveral 'other Blanks to be filled up, as well in 'the Commiſſions and Powers, for nego-'tiating the ſaid Treaties, as in the Trea-'ties themſelves; neither did he enroll 'them in Chancery, as the Law required: 'That he paſſed many unreaſonable Grants 'under the Broad Seal, and adviſed and 'procured divers Grants of the forfeited 'Eſtates in *Ireland:* That beſides the Fees 'and Perquiſites of his Office, he procured 'a Penſion of 4000 *l. per Annum*, and 'ſeveral other unreaſonable Grants for his 'own Benefit, in which his Majeſty was 'deceived: That he had procured a Com-'miſſion for *William Kidd*, a Perſon of 'ill Fame, who had turned Pirate, and 'procured a Grant for himſelf and ſome 'others, in feigned Names, of ſuch Veſſels 'and Goods as he ſhould take: That he 'had made illegal and unwarrantable Or-'ders, while Chancellor, with ſome other 'Matters of leſs Moment.

Lord *Somer's* Anſwer.

'To which he anſwered, That he had, 'according to his Duty, given the King 'his Opinion freely on the Partition-Trea-'ties, and had his Majeſty's Letters for 'his Warrants in ſetting the Great Seal

'to

'to the ſaid Commiſſions and Treaties: 'That it was not incumbent upon him, 'as Lord Chancellor, to ſee the ſaid Com-'miſſions or Treaties enroll'd; but the 'Care of it belong'd to the Prothonotary 'of the Court of Chancery: That he ne-'ver paſs'd any Grants without ſufficient 'Warrants, and that more conſiderable 'Grants had paſs'd in the Times of his 'Predeceſſors: That the annual Penſion 'of 4000 *l. per Annum* had been allowed 'to other Chancellors: That he never 'begg'd any Grant; but what he had re-'ceived, was given him voluntarily by his 'Majeſty, in Conſideration of his Services: 'That the Commiſſion to Captain *Kidd*, 'was then thought neceſſary for the Pre-'ſervation of Trade and Navigation. He 'acknowledges, that *Samuel Newton*'s 'Name in the Grant of the Veſſels and 'Goods that ſhould be taken by *Kidd*, was 'uſed in Truſt for him (the Lord *Somers*); 'but that *Kidd*, having abuſed his Com-'miſſion and turn'd Pirate, his Employ-'ers had loſt their Expences, inſtead of 'making any Gain by ſending him out.

'The Articles againſt *Charles* Lord *Ha-* The Arti-
'*lifax* ſet forth, That whereas the Com- cles a-
'mons had thought it reaſonable to apply gainſt the Lord *Ha-*
'the forfeited Eſtates in *Ireland* to the Uſe *lifax.*
'of the Publick, he had procured a Grant
'of ſeveral Sums forfeited to the Crown

'in that Kingdom, amounting to 13000 *l.* 'That he had procured ſeveral Grants 'alſo in *England*; particularly a Grant 'of 14000 *l.* to be raiſed out of ſcrub- 'bed Beech, Birch, Holly, *&c.* grow- 'ing in his Majeſty's Foreſts; under co- 'lour whereof, he had cut down and 'ſold for his own Benefit ſappling Oaks, 'and many Tons of well-grown Timber: 'That he procured ſeveral Offices and 'Places in the Treaſury and Exchequer, 'which he enjoyed at the ſame Time, 'though they were manifeſtly inconſiſtent, 'and ought to have been a Check on each 'other: And laſtly, that he adviſed the 'Partition Treaties.

The Lord *Halifax*'s Anſwer.

'To this the Lord *Halifax* anſwered, 'That he did accept a Grant of Debts, '*&c.* forfeited to the Crown in *Ireland*, 'and amounting to 13000 *l.* as he law- 'fully might; but that they had been 'taken away from him by the late Act of 'Reſumption, and he had not made clear 'of them above 400 *l.* That he had not 'accepted of the Grants mentioned in *En- 'gland*, and particularly 2000 *l. per Ann.* 'for ſeven Years, to be raiſed by the Fall 'of Scrub Beech, Birch, *&c.* and if any 'Abuſe had been in cutting the Wood, 'he was not anſwerable for the ſame, it 'being done by the Direction of his Ma- 'jeſty's Surveyor-Generals, and other Of- 'ficers:

'ficers. He does not deny his enjoying 'the ſaid Places in the Treaſury and the 'Exchequer; but ſays, it was but for a 'little while; he deſigned from the Be-'ginning to lay ſome of them down, and 'had actually relinquiſh'd ſome of them. 'He ſays, he never adviſed the Partition 'Treaties, or was conſulted thereupon; 'but, when the Matter was diſcourſed of 'at *Tunbridge-Wells*, he made ſeveral Ob-'jections to the ſame.

'The Lords, by a Meſſage the 24th of '*May*, put the Commons in mind of re-'plying to the Earl of *Orford*'s Anſwer, 'and that a Day might be appointed for 'his Trial, and for exhibiting Articles a-'gainſt the Earl of *Portland* and the other 'Lords.

The Lords put the Commons in mind of replying to the E. of *Orford*.

'To which the Commons anſwered, 'That they deferred bringing up the Re-'plication againſt the Earl of *Orford*, 'becauſe they thought fit to begin with 'the Trial of the Lord *Somers*: And as to 'the other Part of the Lord's Meſſage, 'putting them in mind of ſending up 'Articles of Impeachment againſt the 'Earl of *Portland*, *&c.* they held it to 'be unparliamentary, they as Proſecutors 'being proper Judges, where Articles of 'Impeachment ought to be brought up.

'Then the Lords ſent a Meſſage to the 'Commons; acquainting them, that they

The Lords appoint a Day for the Trial of the E. of *Orford*.

'had appointed the 9th of *June* for the 'Trial of the Earl of *Orford*, and that 'the Commons might reply if they 'thought fit. They alſo put them in 'mind again, that no Articles were ex-'hibited againſt the Earl of *Portland*; 'which, after an Impeachment had ſo 'long depended, they obſerved was a Hard-'ſhip, and not agreeable to the uſual Me-'thod of Parliament.

The Commons reſent, it becauſe they were not ready.

'To this the Commons replied, That 'it was their undoubted Right, when ſe-'veral Perſons ſtood impeached, to bring 'to Trial ſuch of them in the firſt Place 'as they ſaw fit; and that no Day ought 'to be appointed by their Lordſhips for 'the Trial, without ſome previous Sig-'nification to their Lordſhips from the 'Commons of their being ready to pro-'ceed therein; and therefore the Com-'mons could not agree to the Day ap-'pointed by their Lordſhips for the Trial 'of the Earl of *Orford*: And as to that 'Part of their Meſſage relating to the 'ſending up Articles againſt the Earl of '*Portland*, they thought their Lordſhips, 'by the frequent Repetition of it, intend-'ed to introduce Diſputes to the Delay of 'Juſtice, and in Breach of that good 'Correſpondence which ought to be ob-'ſerved between the two Houſes.

'The

'The Lords, in a ſubſequent Meſſage, 'put the Commons in mind of replying 'to the Lord *Somers*; and aſſerted, that 'the Right of limiting a convenient Time 'for the Trial was lodged in them.

The Lords inſiſt on their Right to appoint the Trial.

'The Commons afterwards, at a Conference, propoſed the appointing a Committee of both Houſes, to conſider of the moſt proper Ways and Methods of proceeding on Impeachments: But the Lords, by another Meſſage, inſiſted on their Right of appointing the Day of Trial, without any previous Signification from the Commons of their being ready; and complained, that the Commons ſhould charge them with delaying Juſtice.

'The Commons, on the other hand, 'inſiſted on the nominating a Committee 'of both Houſes, to adjuſt the neceſſary 'Preliminaries to the Trials: As, whether 'the impeached Lords ſhould appear at 'their Trials at their Lordſhips Bar as 'Criminals; and whether they ſhould ſit 'as Judges at each other's Trials, or vote 'in their own Caſes, as they found by 'their Lordſhips Journals they had been 'admitted to do.

The Commons inſiſt on a Committee of both Houſes to adjuſt Preliminaries.

'Still the Lords refuſed to appoint any 'ſuch Committee to conſider of the Ways 'and Methods of Impeachments, and ap- 'pointed *Friday*, the 13th of *June*, for 'the

The Lords refuſe it, and appoint a Day for Lord *Somers*'s Trial.

the Trial of the Lord *Somers:* But the Commons refuſed to appear at any Trial, till the Preliminaries were ſettled.

Reſolutions of the Lords concerning Trials.

'The Lords afterwards ſent the following Reſolutions to the Commons, *viz.* 1ſt, That no Lord of Parliament, impeached for High Crimes and Miſdemeanors, and coming to his Trial, ſhall be without the Bar. 2dly, That no Lord, impeached of high Crimes and Miſdemeanors, can be precluded from voting on any Occaſion, except in his own Trial. And that the Commons ſhould not pretend they were ſtraitened for Time, the Lords ordered the Trial of the Lords *Somers* to be put off to the 17th Inſtant, and agreed to a free Conference with the Commons.

A free Conference agreed to.

'At this Conference the Lord *Haverſham* ſaid, The Lords had ſo high an Opinion of the Houſe of Commons, that *they hop'd Juſtice ſhould never be made uſe of as a Mask for any Deſign: That it was a Demonſtration the Commons thought the Lords innocent, becauſe there were ſeveral other Lords engaged in the ſame Things, whom they did not accuſe, but left them at the Head of Affairs, near the King's Perſon, to do any Miſchief if they were inclined to it, when they were both alike guilty, and concern'd in the ſame Facts.*

'Theſe

'These Expreſſions were immediately objected to by Sir *Chriſtopher Muſgrave*, and the Managers for the Commons, who took them to be ſuch an Aſperſion on the Honour of that Houſe, that they immediately withdrew from the Conference. As they withdrew, the Lord Steward ſaid, He hoped they would not think, that that Lord had any Authority from the Houſe of Lords to uſe any ſuch Expreſſions towards the Commons.

The Commons reſent ſome Words ſpoken by Lord *Haverſham*.

'However, the Managers being return'd to their Houſe, it was reſolved, That '*John* Lord *Haverſham* had, at the free Conference, utter'd moſt ſcandalous Reproaches and falſe Expreſſions, highly reflecting upon the Honour and Juſtice of the Houſe of Commons, and tending to the making a Breach in the good Correſpondence between the Lords and Commons, and to the interrupting the publick Juſtice of the Nation, by delaying the Proceedings on Impeachments: And reſolved, That *John* Lord '*Haverſham* be charged before the Lords, for the Words ſpoken at the ſaid Conference; and that the Lords be deſired to proceed in Juſtice againſt him, and to inflict ſuch Puniſhment upon the ſaid Lord, as ſo high an Offence againſt the Commons does deſerve.

Lord *Haverſham* charged with the Words ſpoken at the Conference.

'The Lords afterwards deſired, that 'the Free Conference might be renew'd, 'in order to ſet all Matters to rights; but 'the Commons reſolv'd, that it was not 'conſiſtent with their Honour to renew 'the Free Conference, till Juſtice was 'done them on the Lord *Haverſham*.

Rules to be obſerved at the Trial of Lord *Somers*.

'The Lords, on the 16th of *June*, 'ſent the Commons the following Rules, 'to be obſerved at the Trial of the Lord '*Somers* the next Day, *viz.*

'That the whole Impeachment is to be 'read, and then the Anſwer; which be-'ing done, the Lord Keeper is to tell 'the Commons, that now they may go 'on with their Evidence.

'Then the Lord Keeper is to declare, 'That now the Court is proceeding to 'hear the Evidence, and deſire the Peers 'to give Attention.

'If any of the Peers, or the Members 'of the Houſe of Commons, that ma-'nage the Evidence, or the Lord impeach-'ed, do deſire to have any Queſtion ask'd, 'they muſt deſire the Lord Keeper to ask 'the ſame.

'If any Debate doth ariſe at the Trial, 'no Debate is to be in the Court, but 'the Queſtion ſuſpended, to be debated 'in this Houſe.

'The Members of the Houſe of Com-'mons to be there before the Peers come.

'None

'None to be covered at the Trial but 'the Peers.

'That ſuch Peers, at the Trial of the 'impeached Lord, who, at the Inſtance 'of the ſaid Lord, or of the Commons, 'ſhall be admitted Witneſſes, are to be 'ſworn at the Clerk's Table; and the 'Lord Keeper to adminiſter the Oath, 'and they to deliver their Evidence in 'their own Places.

'Thoſe Witneſſes that are Commoners, 'are to be ſworn at the Bar by the Clerk, 'and are to deliver their Evidence there.

'The impeached Lords may croſs-ex- 'amine Witneſſes *viva voce*.

'The ſame Day, the Commons re- 'ceived the Lord *Haverſham*'s Anſwer to 'their Charge; in which he juſtified the 'Expreſſion he had uſed at the late Con- 'ference between the two Houſes; and 'ſtill aſſerted, that the Commons had 'ſhewn themſelves partial, and even un- 'juſt, in proceeding againſt the impeach- 'ed Lords, while they ſuffer'd the Earl 'of *Jerſey*, Mr. Secretary *Vernon*, Sir '*Joſeph Williamſon*, Sir *Edward Seymour*, 'Sir *Stephen Fox*, and Mr. *Pelham*, who 'were engaged in the ſame Tranſac- 'tions, to remain unmoleſted. Lord *Haverſham*'s Anſwer to the Commons Charge.

'On the other hand, the Commons 'gave ſeveral Reaſons why they could not 'appear at the Trial of the Lord *Somers*;

'the

Reaſons of the Commons why they would not appear at the Trial of Lord *Somers*.

‘ the Principal whereof were, 1*ſt*, That ‘ the Lords had not agreed to a Committee ‘ of both Houſes for ſettling the Preli- ‘ minaries. 2*dly*, That they could never ‘ appear as Proſecutors before their Lord- ‘ ſhips, till they had given them Satis- ‘ faction, that Lords impeached of the ‘ the ſame Crimes ſhould not ſit as Judges ‘ on each other's Trials for thoſe Crimes. ‘ 3*dly*, Becauſe the Commons had yet re- ‘ ceived no Reparation for the great In- ‘ dignity offer'd them at the Free Confe- ‘ rence by the Lord *Haverſham*.

The Lords however proceed to acquit him

‘ The Lords however proceeded to the ‘ Trial of the Lord *Somers*, the 17th In- ‘ ſtant, in *Weſtminſter-Hall*; that is, they ‘ cauſed the Articles againſt him, and his ‘ Anſwer, to be read; and, the Commons ‘ not having reply'd, and conſequently no ‘ Iſſue being join'd, the Lords proceeded to ‘ put the following Queſtion, *That* John ‘ *Lord* Somers *be acquitted of the Articles* ‘ *of Impeachment againſt him exhibited by* ‘ *the Houſe of Commons, and all Things there-* ‘ *in contained*; *and that the ſaid Impeach-* ‘ *ment be diſmiſſed?* Which was reſolved ‘ in the Affirmative, in the Abſence of the ‘ Commons.

The Lords Anſwer to the Commons Reaſons.

‘ On the 20th of *June*, the Lords ſent an ‘ Anſwer to the Commons Reaſons for not ‘ appearing at the Trial of the impeach'd ‘ Lords; wherein their Lordſhips ſay, That

‘ they

'they acknowledged, that the Houſe of 'Commons have a Right of impeaching; 'but that the Lords have an undoubted 'Right of doing Juſtice upon theſe Im-'peachments, by bringing them to a 'Trial, and condemning or acquitting the 'Parties in a reaſonable Time: That there 'never was a Committee of both Houſes 'yielded to by the Lords, in caſe of an 'Impeachment for high Crimes and Miſ-'demeanors; and they ſhould make no 'Precedent on the Occaſion: And, as to 'the Pretence the Commons made to de-'lay the Trials, on account of ſome Ex-'preſſions that fell from the Lord *Ha-'verſham*, their Lordſhips anſwer, They 'had omitted nothing which might 'give the Commons all reaſonable Satis-'faction in that Matter; and obſerved 'farther, That this Buſineſs had no Rela-'tion to the Trial of the impeached Lords, 'therefore they could not imagine why the 'Commons ſhould make Satisfaction and 'Reparation againſt the Lord *Haverſham* 'a neceſſary Condition for going on with 'the Trials.

'The Commons, on the contrary, came 'to a Reſolution, the ſame 20th of *June*, 'That the Lords had refuſed Juſtice to 'the Commons, upon the Impeachment 'againſt the Lord *Somers*, by denying a 'Committee of both Houſes to ſettle the

The Commons reſolve the Lords had refuſed them Juſtice, &c.

'Preli-

'Preliminaries, and afterwards proceeding to a pretended Trial of the ſaid Lord, 'which could tend only to protect him 'from Juſtice, by Colour of an illegal 'Acquittal; againſt which Proceedings 'the Commons did ſolemly proteſt, as 'being repugnant to the Rules of Juſtice, and therefore null and void: That 'the Houſe of Lords, by the pretended 'Trial of *John* Lord *Somers*, had endeavoured to overturn the Right of Impeachments, lodg'd in the Houſe of Commons by the antient Conſtitution of this 'Kingdom, for the Safety and Protection 'of the Commons againſt the Power of 'great Men, and had made an Invaſion 'on the Liberties of the Subject, by laying a Foundation of Impunity for the 'greateſt Offenders: That all the ill Conſequences which might attend the Delay of the Supplies, given by the Commons for preſerving the publick Peace, 'and maintaining the Balance of *Europe*, 'by ſupporting our Allies againſt the Power 'of *France*, were to be imputed to thoſe, 'who, to procure an Indemnity for their 'own enormous Crimes, had uſed their 'utmoſt Endeavours to make a Breach between the two Houſes.

And proteſt againſt their Proceedings.

'In anſwer to this Proteſt, the Lords 'ſent the Commons a Meſſage the ſame 'Day; acquainting them, That the Com-

The Lords Anſwer to it.

'mons

'mons not appearing to maintain their 'Articles againſt the Lord *Somers*, they had 'acquitted him of the Articles of Impeach-'ment, and diſmiſs'd the ſame; and that 'they had appointed *Monday* next for the 'Trial of the Earl of *Orford:* That from 'the Commons ſtill preſſing for a Com-'mittee of both Houſes, their Lordſhips 'inferred, that they never deſigned the 'bringing any of their Impeachments to 'a Trial: And as to the Lord *Haverſham*, 'his Anſwer was before the Commons, 'and the Lords reſolved to do Juſtice in 'that Matter.

'The Commons, on the other hand of-'fered, That no Member ſhould preſume 'to appear at the pretended Trial of the 'Earl of *Orford*, on Pain of incurring the 'utmoſt Diſpleaſure of the Houſe.

'On *Monday*, the 23d of *June*, the 'Lords reſolved, That the Reſolutions of 'the Commons of the 20th Inſtant, con-'tained moſt unjuſt Reflections on the 'Honour and Juſtice of the Houſe of 'Peers; and were contrived to cover their 'affected and unreaſonable Delays in pro-'ſecuting the impeached Lords; and did 'manifeſtly tend to the Deſtruction of the 'Judicature of the Lords; to the render-'ing Trials and Impeachments impracti-'cable for the future; to the ſubverting 'the Conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Govern-'ment; Their Reſolution.

'ment; and therefore, whatever ill Con-
'ſequences might ariſe from the ſo long
'deferring the Supplies of this Year's Ser-
'vice, they were to be attributed to the
'fatal Council of the putting off the Meet-
'ing of a Parliament ſo long, and to the
'unneceſſary Delays of the Houſe of
'Commons.

The Earl of *Orford* acquitted.

'The ſame Day the Lords proceeded to
'acquit the Earl of *Orford*, as they had
'done the Lord *Somers*; and on the 24th
'of *June*, the laſt Day of the Seſſion,
'they made the following Order, *viz.*

Order of the Lords, concerning Lord *Haverſham*, and the Lords *Portland* and *Halifax*.

"The Houſe of Commons not hav-
"ing preſented their Charge, which
"they brought up againſt *John* Lord
"*Haverſham*, for Words ſpoken by him,
"at a free Conference the 13th In-
"ſtant, the ſaid Charge is hereby diſmiſ-
"ſed. The Earl of *Portland* being im-
"peached by the Houſe of Commons,
"of high Crimes and Miſdemeanors, the
"firſt Day of *April* laſt, the Impeach-
"ment is hereby diſmiſſed, there being no
"Articles exhibited againſt him. The
"Houſe of Commons having impeached
"*Charles* Lord *Halifax*, of high Crimes
"and Miſdemeanors, on the 15th Day
"of *April* laſt; and on the 14th Day of
"this Inſtant *June* exhibited Articles a-
"gainſt him, to which he having anſwer-
"ed,

" ed, and there being no further Proſecu-
" tion thereupon, the ſaid Impeachment
" and Articles are hereby diſmiſſed.' At the
' ſame Time they diſmiſſed an Impeach-
' ment, that had been preferred againſt the
' Duke of *Leeds*, by a former Parliament.'

Theſe were the famous Proceedings in King WILLIAM's laſt Parliament, of which Mr. PRIOR was a Member, and voted for the Impeachments. Tho' I had already been pretty extenſive on the Partition Treaty, I could not omit this Relation, which contains that Part of its Conſequences that moſt peculiarly relates to our Subject. I ſhall now entirely drop it, having firſt added my Author's Remarks on theſe Impeachments.

Remarks on theſe Impeachments.

' It ſeems to have been agreed, both by ' the Lords and Commons in this Diſpute, ' that the Partition Treaty was of perni- ' cious Conſequence, and that the tranſ- ' acting it in a private Manner, without ' communicating it to the Council, was ' a high Miſdemeanor in thoſe that advi- ' ſed and tranſacted it: But whether the ' Commons ſuſpected, that the Lords, who ' were generally in the Intereſt of the old ' Miniſtry, would not paſs any Cenſure ' on the impeached Lords, or for what ' other Reaſon, is uncertain, the Com- ' mons ſeem to have been a little dilatory

' in

'in their Proceedings, and might deſign
'the Lords ſhould have have lain under
'an Impeachment, during the Receſs of
'the Parliament. There might poſſibly
'be ſomething of Party alſo in the Caſe:
'The impeached Lords were the Chiefs of
'the Whigs, and had long reigned at Court
'without Controul; and the Tories, who
'ſucceeded them, had a View, perhaps,
'of preventing their returning to their
'Poſts, as well as of bringing them to
'Juſtice for negotiating the Partition
'Treaty, and for the other Miſdemeanors
'mentioned in the Articles. There are
'few Proſecutions of this Kind, but there
'is a great deal of private Pique, Intereſt,
'and Reſentment, mixed with Views of
'the public Good.

The King in *Holland*. Things at a Criſis.

The King of *Great Britain*, at the breaking up of the Parliament, ſet out for *Holland*, to confer with the States on the preſent Poſture of Affairs. He arrived at the *Hague* on the 3d of *July* 1701, and was joyfully received. Soon after the *French* Ambaſſador there ſignified his being re-called; the *Germans*, under Prince *Eugene*, penetrated into the *Milaneſe*; a War broke out in the North between King *Charles* the XIIth of *Sweden*, and the Confederates againſt him; in ſhort, a Flame ſeemed to be kindling throughout all *Chriſtendom*. The Death of King

JAMES

JAMES at *St. Germains*, in the midſt of this Confuſion, effectually blow'd it up, and left no Poſſibility of an Accommodation. King JAMES dies.

'The *French* King, foreſeeing a War 'unavoidable, unleſs he would relinquiſh 'Part of the *Spaniſh* Dominions, had 'promiſed King JAMES, on his Death-'bed, that he would acknowledge his Son '(the Pretender) King of *England*, im-'mediately after his Deceaſe, and was as 'good as his Word, proclaiming him King 'of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; where-'upon the Earl of *Mancheſter*, the *En-'gliſh* Ambaſſador at *Paris*, was ordered 'to return home without taking leave, 'and Monſieur *Pouſſin*, the *French* Reſi-'dent in *England*, to depart the Kingdom: 'Immediately after which, the City of '*London*, and moſt of the Counties of '*England*, tranſmitted Addreſſes to his 'Majeſty in *Holland*; declaring their Senſe 'of the Indignity offered him, and pro-'miſing to ſupport his Government againſt 'the Pretender, and all his Enemies: And, 'in the mean Time, his Majeſty con-'cluded Alliances with ſeveral foreign 'Princes againſt *France*; but that of the 'greateſt Conſequence was with the Em-'peror and *Holland*, uſually ſtiled the '*Grand Alliance*, which was of the fol-'lowing Tenor, (*viz.*)

The Pretender proclaimed.

The *Engliſh* Ambaſſador at *Paris* returns home.

Loyal Addreſſes promiſing to ſtand by the Kingdom.

The Articles of the *Grand Alliance.*

I. " That there ſhall be a ſtrict " Alliance between the Emperor, the " King of *England*, and the States-General.

II. " That, for ſettling the Peace and " Tranquillity of *Europe*, which is their " chief Aim, they have thought nothing " could more conduce thereunto, than to " procure Satisfaction to the Emperor for " his Pretenſions upon *Spain*, and Security to *England* and *Holland* for their " Dominions and Commerce.

III. " That they ſhall employ their " good Offices for two Months together " after the Ratification, in order to obtain that End in an amicable Way.

IV. " That, if they cannot ſucceed " therein, they ſhall aſſiſt each other with " all their Forces.

V. " That they ſhall endeavour to conquer the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, that they " may ſerve as a Barrier for the ſecuring the States-General; to conquer the " Dutchy of *Milan* as a Fief of the Empire; the Kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicily*, " and the Iſlands and Places on the Coaſts " of *Tuſcany*, which may be advanta-

" geous

" geous to the Navigation and Trade of " the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*.

VI. " That, for the greater Security " of the Navigation of the *Engliſh* and " *Dutch*, it ſhall be lawful for them to " attack and poſſeſs the Countries and " Towns belonging to *Spain* in the *Indies*; " and that they ſhall keep for themſelves " the Countries and Towns conquered by " them.

VII. " That, if they are neceſſitated " to enter into a War, they ſhall ſincerely " communicate unto each other every " Thing relating to their Intereſts.

VIII. " That none of the Parties ſhall " make Peace without the Conſent of the " other, nor before they have obtained a " convenient Satisfaction for the Emperor, " and a Security for the Dominions and " Trade of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, and " procured that the Crowns of *France* and " *Spain* be never re-united under the ſame " Prince; and in particular, that the " *French* be never Maſters of the *Indies* " ſubmitted to *Spain*, or that they be " permitted to trade into that Country, " directly or indirectly; nor before they " have obtained for the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* " thoſe Rights, Privileges and Franchiſes,

" for their Trade in *Spain* and the *Me-*
" *diterranean*, which they enjoy'd under
" *Charles* II, by Virtue of Treaties, Cuſ-
" tom, or any other Title whatſoever.

IX. " They ſhall agree, at the ſame
" Time, that the Peace ſhall be treated
" of on the Means for ſecuring the Com-
" merce of both Nations and the Barrier.

X. " They ſhall agree about the Dif-
" ferences that may relate to the Exerciſe
" of Religion in the Countries they hope
" to conquer.

XI. " If the moſt Chriſtian King at-
" tacks any of them, by reaſon of this
" Treaty, they ſhall aſſiſt each other with
" all their Forces.

XII. " The defenſive Alliance ſhall
" ſubſiſt between the ſaid Parties after
" the Concluſion of the Peace for the
" Guarantee of the Treaty.

XIII. " All Princes and States, that
" ſhall be willing to come into this Al-
" liance, ſhall be admitted; and the
" States of the Empire ſhall be particu-
" larly invited to come into the ſame, as
" being concern'd in the Recovery of the
" imperial Fiefs.

XIV.

XIV. "This Treaty, which was sign'd "on the 7th of *September* last, shall be "ratified within seven Weeks after."

'King WILLIAM being detained in *Holland*, partly by his ill State of Health, 'and partly in concerting Measures with 'the States to attack the *French* Frontiers 'the next Campaign, did not arrive in '*England* till the 5th of *November*; and, 'on the 11th of the same Month, he 'issued a Proclamation for dissolving the 'Parliament, and calling another to meet 'on the 30th of *December*: The Rea-'son given for which was, That his Ma-'jesty might have the present Sense of 'the Nation in this extraordinary Con-'juncture; but, probably, the greatest 'Inducement might be to prevent a Re-'vival of the Differences between the 'two Houses of Parliament, whereby 'the Supplies necessary for the approach-'ing War might have been delay'd.

King *William* comes to *England*.

He dissolves the Parliament, and calls another.

'The City of *London*, and some other 'Places, thought fit to give their Repre-'sentatives Instructions for their Conduct 'in the ensuing Session; importing, that 'they should vigorously assist his Majesty 'in maintaining his Title to the Crown, 'to make good his Alliances, and reduce 'the Power of *France*; recommending,

London give their Members Instructions.

'above all Things, a Union beween the 'two Houſes.'

King *William*'s laſt Parliament.

The Parliament elected *Robert Harley*, Eſq; who had preſided in the laſt Houſe of Commons, to be their Speaker. I ſhall not inſert his Majeſty's Speech at his coming to the Houſe, which being his laſt, is in abundance of Hands. Both Lords and Commons, in their Addreſſes, returned him Thanks for it; expreſſed their Reſolutions to maintain and ſupport his Title, and to enable him to make good all his Alliances, for the Preſervation of the Liberties of *Europe*, and reducing the exorbitant Power of *France*: And the Commons, in order to raiſe a preſent Sum of Money for his warlike Preparations, reſolved, That whoever ſhould advance the Sum of 600,000 *l.* for the Service of the Fleet, and 50,000 *l.* for the preſent Subſiſtence of the Land-Forces, ſhould be repaid with Intereſt, at 6 *per Cent*, out of the firſt Aids. In the mean Time, all poſſible Expedition was uſed for equipping out a Fleet; and a Proclamation iſſued to encourage Seamen to enter on board the Royal Navy; the Commons having voted, That 40,000 Men ſhould be raiſed for the Sea-Service, and the ſame Number for the Land-Service, to act in Conjunction with the Allies.

But

His Death.

But his Majeſty's Death, which happened on the 8th of *March* 170$\frac{1}{2}$, obliges us to refer our Readers to the Hiſtory of the ſucceeding Reign, for the Effects of this great Armament. There they will ſee the Earl of *Marlborough* advanced to be Captain-General, upon the Recommendation of the late King; a War proclaimed and carried on with a Series of Succeſs, that has hardly been parallell'd; Parliaments, and even Sovereigns, conſpiring in raiſing Monuments to the Honour of our Hero; and Poets, among whom Mr. PRIOR was not the leaſt conſiderable, ſacrificing to his Glory thoſe immortal Oblations, which the Muſes have in Store for the firſt of Men. It is only with a View to the Poems he wrote on theſe Occaſions, and the Negotiations in which he was afterwards concerned, that I ſhall take notice of what paſſed in ſome of the Campaigns: War being no more the proper Subject of this Work, than it was the Buſineſs of Mr. PRIOR's Life. We find in this Reign, as in the former, that while *Bellona* raged in the Field, he continually put himſelf under the Protection of *Pallas* and the harmonious Siſters, and was contented with only appearing now and then as a Poet: But when Peace held forth her Olive-Branch, and the jarring Nations were in-

clined to receive her; he was again employed in the most important Affairs, the *carrying of his Sovereign's Warrants.*

Mr. PRIOR's Political Poems in Queen ANNE's Reign.

His *Letter to Monsieur* Boileau Despreaux, *occasioned by the Victory at* Blenheim 1704, and his *Ode humbly inscribed to the Queen on the glorious Success of her Majesty's Arms* 1706, *written in Imitation of* Spenser's *Style*, are both of them exquisitely fine, though in very different Tastes. The former is a Composition of a very peculiar Sort, comprising the various Beauties of a familiar Epistle, a genteel Satire, and an epic Poem. In the Latter, as his Preface informs us, he has copied the Warmth of an *Horatian* Ode in the Style and Numbers of our Countryman *Spenser*; having only added one Verse to his Stanza, which he thought made the Number more harmonious. At the End of this Preface, after having drawn the Characters of his 'two great Examples', he declares, (as most good Poets have done at some Time or other of their Lives, and kept their Words in the same Manner,) 'That it 'is long since he has (or at least ought to 'have) quitted *Parnassus*, and all the 'flowery Roads on that Side the Country; 'though he thought himself indispensa-'bly obliged, upon the present Occasion, 'to take a little Journey into those Parts.'

The

The Victory at *Blenheim*, which makes the Subject of the firſt of theſe Poems, is one of the moſt remarkable in Hiſtory: And there cannot be a ſhorter, or better Account of it given, than in the Words of the General who won it. He writes thus to Mr. Secretary *Harley* on the 14th of *Auguſt* 1704, the Day after the Battle.

SIR,

Duke of *Marlborough*'s Letter at on the Battle at *Blenheim*.

'I GAVE you an Account on *Sunday* of the Situation we were then in, and that we expected to hear the Enemy would paſs the *Danube* at *Lawingen*, in order to attack Prince *Eugene*. At Eleven that Night we had an Expreſs from him that the Enemy was come over, and deſiring he might be re-inforced as ſoon as poſſible. Whereupon I ordered my Brother *Churchill* to advance at One o'Clock in the Morning with his twenty Battalions, and by Three the whole Army was in Motion. For the greater Expedition, I ordered part of the Troops to paſs over the *Danube*, and to follow the March of the twenty Battalions; and with moſt of the Horſe and Foot of the firſt Line, I paſſed the *Lech* at *Rain*, and came over the *Danube* at *Donawert*; ſo that we all join'd the

'Prince

'Prince that Night, intending to advance
'and take this Camp of *Hockſtet*: In or-
'der whereto, we went out on *Tueſday*,
'early in the Morning, with forty Squa-
'drons, to view the Ground; but found
'the Enemy had already poſſeſſed them-
'ſelves of it: Whereupon we reſolved
'to attack them; and accordingly we
'marched between Three and Four Yeſ-
'terday Morning from the Camp at *Mun-
'ſter*, leaving all our Tents ſtanding. A-
'bout Six we came in View of the Ene-
'my, who, we found, did not expect ſo
'early a Viſit: The Cannon began to play
'about half an Hour after eight. They
'formed themſelves into two Bodies; the
'Elector, with Monſieur *Marſin*, and their
'Troops, on our Right; and Monſieur
'*de Tallard*, with all his, on our Left;
'which laſt fell to my Share: They had
'two little Rivulets, beſides a Moraſs, be-
'fore them, which we were obliged to
'paſs over in their View; and Prince
'*Eugene* was forced to take a great Com-
'paſs to come to the Enemy; ſo that it
'was One o'Clock before the Battle began.
'It laſted with great Vigour till Sun-ſet,
'when the Enemy was obliged to retire;
'and, by the Bleſſing of God, we ob-
'tained a complete Victory. We have
'cut off great Numbers of them, as well
'in the Action, as in the Retreat, beſides

'upwards

'upwards of thirty Squadrons of the 'French, which I puſhed into the *Danube*, where we ſaw the greateſt part of 'them periſh; Monſieur *de Tallard*, with 'ſeveral of his General Officers, being 'taken Priſoners at the ſame Time: And, 'in the Village of *Blenheim*, which the 'Enemy had entrenched and fortified, 'and where they made the greateſt Op-'ſition, I oblig'd twenty-ſix entire Bat-'talions, and twelve Squadrons of Dra-'goons, to ſurrender themſelves Priſoners 'at Diſcretion. We took likewiſe all 'their Tents ſtanding, with their Cannon 'and Ammunition, as alſo a great Number 'of Standards, Kettle-Drums, and Co-'lours, in the Action; ſo that I reckon 'the greateſt part of Monſieur *Tallard's* 'Army is taken or deſtroyed. The Bra-'very of all our Troops on this Occaſion 'cannot be expreſſed; the Generals, as 'well as the Officers and Soldiers, behav-'ing themſelves with the greateſt Courage 'and Reſolution. The Horſe and Dra-'goons were obliged to charge four or 'five ſeveral Times. The Elector, and 'Monſieur *de Marſin*, were ſo advan-'tageouſly poſted, that Prince *Eugene* 'could make no Impreſſion on them till 'the third Attack at near Seven at Night, 'when he made a great Slaughter of them; 'but, being near a Wood-ſide, a good

'Body

'Body of *Bavarians* retired into it, and 'the reſt of the Army retreated towards '*Lawingen*; it being too late, and the 'Troops too much tired, to purſue them 'far. I cannot ſay too much in Praiſe of 'that Prince's good Conduct, and the 'Bravery of his Troops, upon this Occa-'ſion. You will pleaſe to lay this before 'her Majeſty and his Royal Highneſs, to 'whom I ſend my Lord *Tunbridge* with 'the good News. I pray you will like-'wiſe inform yourſelf, and let me know 'her Majeſty's Pleaſure, as well relating 'to Monſieur *de Tallard*, and the other 'General Officers, as the Diſpoſal of 'near twelve hundred other Officers, and 'between eight and nine thouſand com-'mon Soldiers; who, being all made Pri-'ſoners by her Majeſty's Troops, are en-'tirely at her Diſpoſal. But, as the Charge 'of ſubſiſting theſe Officers and Men 'muſt be very great, I preſume her Ma-'jeſty will be inclined that they be ex-'changed for any other Priſoners that 'offer.

'I ſhould likewiſe be glad to receive 'her Majeſty's Directions for the Diſ-'poſal of the Standards and Colours, 'whereof I have not yet the Number; 'but gueſs there cannot be leſs than an 'hundred, which is more than has been 'taken in any Battle theſe many Years.

'You

'You will eaſily believe, that, in ſo long 'and vigorous an Action, the *Engliſh*, 'who had ſo great a ſhare in it, muſt 'have ſuffered, as well in Officers, as Men; 'but I have not the Particulars.' *

I am, Sir,

Your moſt obedient,

Humble Servant,

MARLBOROUGH.

The Conſequences of this Victory were the entire Reduction of all *Bavaria* to the Emperor's Obedience, the taking of *Ulm*, *Landau*, *Triers*, *Traerbach*, and the Recovery of almoſt all that had been loſt to the *French* during their late Succeſſes. Mr. PRIOR's Epiſtle to *Boileau*.

Mr. *Boileau*, in his eighth Epiſtle, which begins,

Grand Roi, ceſſe de vaincre, ou je ceſſe d'ecrire,

Had informed his Sovereign of the great

* In this Battle the Enemy's Loſs was computed to be between twenty and thirty thouſand Men, killed or taken: The Confederates alſo took upwards of 100 Pieces of Cannon, 24 Mortars, 129 Colours, 171 Standards, 17 Pair of Kettle-Drums, 3600 Tents, 34 Coaches, 300 laden Mules, 24 Barrels, and 8 Casks of Silver. Of the Confederates there were about 4500 Men killed, and 7500 wounded.

Diffi-

Difficulties he lay under to deſcribe his numerous and wonderful Conqueſts. *Sometimes*, ſays he, *in the Ardour of my Zeal, I endeavour to meaſure out the Syllables of an Ode; at others, I boldly form the Plan of a ſublime Æneid. Thus, continually flattered by a pleaſing Madneſs, I perceive my Genius daily to decreaſe; and that my Verſes, without Spirit or Beauty, diſhonour my Pen, and do no Honour to Thee.* He then humbly informs his Majeſty, that it would be but reaſonable to give him Breath for one Year, at leaſt, that his Muſe might recover her Vigour, and atone for the Opportunities ſhe had loſt.

With what an agreeable Sneer does Mr. PRIOR allude to this extravagant, though artful Stretch of Flattery, and perhaps to other Paſſages of an equal Strain, in the Beginning of his Epiſtle.

Since hir'd for Life, thy ſervile Muſe muſt ſing
Succeſſive Conqueſts, and a glorious King;
Muſt of a Man immortal vainly boaſt,
And bring him Laurels, whatſoe'er they coſt:
What Turn wilt thou employ, what Colours lay
On the Event of that ſuperior Day,
In which one ENGLISH Subject's proſp'rous Hand
(So JOVE did will; ſo ANNA did command)
Broke the proud Column of thy Maſter's Praiſe,
Which ſixty Winters had conſpir'd to raiſe?

From

From the loſt Field a hundred Standards brought
Muſt be the Work of Chance, and Fortune's Fault:
BAVARIA's Stars muſt be accus'd, which ſhone,
That fatal Day the mighty Work was done,
With Rays oblique upon the GALLIC Sun.
Some DÆMON envying FRANCE miſled the Fight:
And MARS miſtook, tho' LOUIS order'd right.

But the Verſes that follow are an inimitable Piece of Raillery on the *Frenchman*'s fourth Epiſtle, in which he complains that the King did not conſider his Poet in his Campaigns, but unkindly took Places in Fact, which could not poſſibly be taken in Rhyme.

When thy young Muſe invok'd the tuneful Nine,
To ſay how LOUIS did not paſs the RHINE,
What Work had we with WAGENINGHEN, ARNHEIM,
Places that could not be reduc'd to Rhyme?
And tho' the Poet made his laſt Efforts,
WURTS—who could mention in Heroic—WURTS?
But, tell me, haſt thou Reaſon to complain
Of the rough Triumphs of the laſt Campaign?
The DANUBE reſcu'd, and the Empire ſav'd,
Say, is the Majeſty of Verſe retriev'd?
And would it prejudice thy ſofter Vein,
To ſing the Princes, LOUIS and EUGENE?
Is it too hard in happy Verſe to place
The VANS and VANDERS of the RHINE and MAES?

Her

Her Warriors ANNA ſends from TWEED and
THAMES,
That FRANCE may fall by more harmonious
Names.
Can'ſt thou not HAMILTON or LUMLY bear?
Would INGOLDSBY or PALMES offend thy Ear?
And is there not a Sound in MARLBRO's Name,
Which Thou and all thy Brethren ought to claim,
Sacred to Verſe, and ſure of endleſs Fame?

However, though the Names of his Heroes are tuneful enough, Mr. PRIOR pleaſantly owns that there are ſome Particulars in this Victory which cannot be rendered ſo harmonious. Who does not perceive the Beauty of theſe ſeemingly unpoliſh'd Lines?

I grant, old Friend, old Foe (or ſuch We are
Alternate, as the Chance of Peace and War)
That we poetic Folks, who muſt reſtrain
Our meaſur'd Sayings in an equal Chain,
Have Troubles utterly unknown to thoſe,
Who let their Fancy looſe in rambling Proſe.
For Inſtance now, how hard it is for Me
To make my Matter and my Verſe agree:
In one great Day on HOCHSTET'S *fatal Plain*
FRENCH *and* BAVARIANS *twenty thouſand ſlain*, &c.

In this Manner he runs on, till he has given us what he calls *a Commiſſary's Liſt in Verſe*; to the Poetry of which he brings an Objection from his Antagoniſt, and thus anſwers it.

Why

Why Faith, DESPREAUX, there's Senſe in what
you ſay:
I told you where my Difficulty lay:
So vaſt, ſo numerous, were great BLENHEIM's
Spoils,
They ſcorn the Bounds of Verſe, and mock the
Muſe's Toils.
To make the rough Recital aptly chime,
Or bring the Sum of GALLIA's Loſs to Rhime,
'Tis mighty hard. ——

Yet in the midſt of theſe Pleaſantries, he generouſly acknowledges the Merit of his Adverſary, and wiſhes poetically for what he really poſſeſſed, a Genius equal to the Praiſes of his Queen, and her victorious General.

O Poet, had it been APOLLO's Will,
That I had ſhar'd a Portion of thy Skill;
Had this poor Breaſt receiv'd the heav'nly Beam,
Or could I hope my Verſe might reach my Theam;
Yet, BOILEAU, yet the lab'ring Muſe ſhould ſtrive,
Beneath the Shades of MARLBRO's Wreaths to live:
Should call aſpiring Gods to bleſs her Choice;
And to their Fav'rite's Strain exalt her Voice,
Arms and a Queen to ſing; who, Great and Good,
From peaceful THAMES to DANUBE's wond'ring
Flood
Sent for the Terror of her high Commands,
To ſave the Nations from invading Hands,

To prop fair Liberty's declining Cauſe,
And fix the jarring World with equal Laws.

There cannot be a better Inſtance of his Abilities for the Undertaking he modeſtly declines, than in the noble Plan of an Heroic Poem which he has annex'd to this Addreſs. It contains near an hundred Verſes, that are equally elegant and ſublime. After which he concludes in the true Spirit of an *Engliſhman.*

But we muſt change the Style.—— Juſt now I ſaid,
I ne'er was Maſter of the tuneful Trade:
Or the ſmall Genius which my Youth could boaſt,
In Proſe and Buſineſs lies extinct and loſt.
Bleſs'd, if I may ſome younger Muſe excite;
Point out the Game, and animate the Flight:
That from *Marſeilles* to *Calais* FRANCE may know,
As we have Conqu'rors, we have Poets too;
And either Laurel does in BRITAIN grow:
That, tho' amongſt ourſelves, with too much Heat,
We ſometimes wrangle, when we ſhould debate;
(A conſequential Ill, which Freedom draws;
A bad Effect, but from a noble Cauſe)
We can with univerſal Zeal advance,
To curb the faithleſs Arrogance of FRANCE.
Nor ever ſhall BRITANNIA's Sons refuſe
To anſwer to thy Maſter, or thy Muſe;
Nor want juſt Subject for victorious Strains,
While MARLBRO's Arm eternal Laurel gains;
And where old SPENCER ſung, a new ELISA reigns.

Mr.

Mr. PRIOR's other political Poem, on the Succeſs of her Majeſty's Arms in the Year 1706, obliges me to give a ſhort Hiſtory of that Campaign, as I did before of the Victory of *Blenheim*.

'The Duke of *Marlborough* arrived at 'the *Hague* the 4th of *April*, O. S. 'and, having concerted the Operations 'of the Campaign with the States, took 'the Field about a Fortnight after. The '*French*, who made great Advantages 'the laſt War by early Campaigns, had 'this Spring formed a Deſign to ſurprize 'the Duke of *Marlborough*, before the '*Danes* and *Pruſſians* had join'd him; 'and thereupon the Elector of *Bavaria* 'and Marſhal *Villeroy* paſs'd the *Dyle* the 'Beginning of *May*, and advanced di-'rectly towards the Confederate Army: 'The Duke of *Marlborough*, who was 'ſeldom ſurpriz'd for want of Intelligence 'of the Enemies Motions, being appriz'd 'of their Deſign, diſpatch'd an Expreſs 'to the *Daniſh* Troops to join him; and 'they arriv'd within a League of his 'Camp the 22d of *May*, N. S. The Campaign in *Flanders*, 1706.

'The Enemies Army conſiſted of ſe-'venty-ſix Battalions and one hundred 'and thirty-two Squadrons, and the Con-'federate Army of ſeventy-four Battalions 'and one hundred and twenty-three Squa-

'drons: They came to an Engagement 'the Day following; of which Colonel 'Edwards, Aid-de-Camp to the Duke of 'Marlborough, brought the following Re-'lation to her Majesty.

The Bat-of *Ramil-lies* on *Sun-day* 12th of *May*, O. S.

'On *Saturday* the 11th Instant, O. S. 'the confederate Army decamped from 'Borchloen, and march'd to *Gros Warem*; 'the *Danish* Troops came up with our 'Rear, and encamped at a small Distance 'from us: Here we had Advice, that 'the Enemy, who, being join'd by the 'Horse of the Mareschal *de Marsin*'s 'Army, and depending on the Superi-'ority of their Numbers, were lately 'come out of their Lines, and had made 'a Motion, extending their Right towards 'Judoigne.

'My Lord Duke and Monsieur *d'Au-'verquerque*, relying upon the Goodness 'of their Troops, resolved to advance 'towards the Enemy; and accordingly, 'on *Sunday* the 12th, about Three in the 'Morning, the Army march'd in eight 'Columns towards *Ramillies*, a Village 'where the *Gheete* takes its Source, that 'we might avoid the Inconvenience of 'passing that River. Being advanced 'near the said Village, we found the Ene-'my getting into the Camp of *Mount St.*

'*André*,

'*André*, and placing their Right to the '*Mehaign*.

'This River flows about half a League 'from *Ramillies*, the Ground between 'them being open and level: The *Gheete* 'runs from *Ramillies* to *Autregliſe*, thro' 'a marſhy Ground; and beyond *Autre-* '*gliſe* the River grows wide, and the 'Ground is unpaſſable.

'The Enemy had poſted a Brigade of 'Foot next to the *Mehaign*, and filled 'the Space between that and *Ramillies*, 'with upwards of one hundred Squadrons, 'among which were the Troops of the '*French* King's Houſhold. At *Ramillies* 'they had above twenty Battalions of 'Foot, with about twelve Pieces of treble 'Cannon: From thence to *Autregliſe* they 'had formed a Line of Foot along the '*Gheete*, with a Line of Horſe at ſome 'diſtance behind them.

'His Grace judging, by the Situation 'of the Ground, that the Streſs of the 'Action would be on our Left, ordered 'that, beſides the Number of Horſe be- 'longing to that Wing, the *Daniſh* Squa- 'drons, being twenty in Number, ſhould 'alſo be poſted there. It was about Two 'in the Afternoon before our Army could 'be formed in Order of Battle; and then 'we began the Attack on our Left with 'four Battalions, which puſhed the Bri-

'gade of Foot above-mentioned from 'their Poſt on the *Mehaign.* Monſieur 'd' *Auverquerque* about the ſame Time 'charged with the Horſe of that Wing. 'The Succeſs was doubtful about half an 'Hour; which the Duke of *Marlborough* 'perceiving, ordered the reſt of the Horſe 'of the Right Wing (except the *Engliſh*, 'who were ſeventeen Squadrons) to ſup-'port thoſe on the Left.

'Here, while his Grace was rallying 'ſome, and giving his Orders for others 'to charge, he was in very great Danger, 'being ſingled out by ſeveral of the Re-'ſoluteſt of the Enemy; and, falling 'from his Horſe at the ſame Time, had 'either been killed or taken Priſoner, if 'ſome of our Foot, that were near at 'hand, had not come very ſeaſonably to 'his Grace's Aſſiſtance, and obliged the 'Enemy to retire. After this, my Lord 'Duke had ſtill a greater Eſcape; a Can-'non-Ball having taken off Colonel *Bing-'field*'s Head as he was remounting his 'Grace.

'The Village of *Ramillies* was attacked 'by a Detachment of twelve Battalions 'of Foot, commanded by Lieutenant-'General *Schutz*, which entered at once 'with great Vigour and Reſolution: His 'Grace haſten'd our Line of Foot thi-'ther, to ſupport them; which, though

'it

'it was at a great Diſtance, yet came up 'ſoon enough to beat the Enemy quite 'out of the Village; and at the ſame 'Time charged the reſt of their Foot 'that were poſted behind the *Gheete*, as 'is above-mentioned; and my Lord Duke 'ordered the *Engliſh* Horſe to ſupport 'them.

'By this Time the Enemies Right 'Wing of Horſe being entirely defeated, 'the Horſe of our Left fell upon the Foot 'on their Right; of whom they ſlew 'great Numbers, cutting to pieces about 'twenty of their Battalions, whoſe Co-'lours they took, and likewiſe their Can-'non. The reſt of the Enemies Foot 'were entirely broken: The Horſe of 'their Left Wing ſeemed to make a Stand, 'to gain Time for their Foot to retire; 'but were charged ſo quick, and with ſo 'much Bravery by the *Engliſh* Horſe, 'that they entirely abandon'd their Foot; 'and our Dragoons, puſhing into the 'Village of *Autreglife*, made a terrible 'Slaughter of them. The *French* King's 'own Regiment of Foot, called the Re-'giment *du Roy*, begged for Quarter, 'and delivered up their Arms and Colours 'to the Lord *John Hays*'s Dragoons.

'We purſued the Enemy all Night, 'by the Way of *Judoigne*, as far as *Meldre*; 'being five Leagues from the Place where

'the Action happened, and two from '*Louvain*.'

Conſequences of it.

This Victory, at the Opening of the Campaign, was attended with more numerous happy Conſequences to the Allies, than any other during the whole War. *Louvain*, whither the Elector of *Bavaria* and Mareſchal *Villeroy* retired after the Battle, was abandoned to the Allies the next Morning. And three Days after the Magiſtrates of *Bruſſels*, their next Place of Retreat, ſent their Submiſſion to his Grace. In ſhort, the victorious Army took Poſſeſſion of *Ghent*, *Oudenarde*, *Bruges*, *Antwerp*, and *Coutray*, without Oppoſition: And the States both of *Brabant* and *Flanders* acknowledged the Archduke, by the Title of *Charles* III. King of *Spain*. *Oſtend*, *Menin*, *Dendermond*, and *Aeth*, were all inveſted and taken the ſame Summer.

Mr. PRIOR's Ode on the Occaſion.

It was no Wonder that ſuch an uncommon Series of Conqueſt ſhould ſtagger the Reſolution Mr. PRIOR had taken, and oblige him to reſume his neglected Lyre. And how admirably he has tranſfuſed into his Ode the *impetuous Heat* of *Horace*, and all the Graces of *Spenſer*'s Diction, muſt be obvious to every judicious Reader. I believe we may aſcribe it to this Piece, that we have ſince had ſo many Imitations

Imitations of our antient Poets: For I do not remember that any of our Moderns wrote in this Way before Mr. PRIOR, nor that he has done it in any Thing anterior to the Ode we are now upon. Obſerve with what Dignity he leads forth his Hero to the Field, in the fifth and ſixth Stanza, after having propoſed the Subject of his Poem, and addreſſed it to her Majeſty:

As the ſtrong Eagle in the ſilent Wood,
Mindleſs of Warlike Rage, and hoſtile Care,
Plays round the rocky Cliff, or cryſtal Flood;
'Till by JOVE's high Beheſts call'd out to War,
And charg'd with Thunder of his angry King,
His Boſom with the vengeful Meſſage glows:
Upward the noble Bird directs his Wing;
And tow'ring round his Maſter's Earth-born Foes,
Swift he collects his fatal Stock of Ire;
Lifts his fierce Talon high, and dares the forked Fire.

Sedate and calm thus Victor MARLBRO' ſate,
Shaded with Laurels, in his Native Land;
'Till ANNA calls Him from his ſoft Retreat,
And gives her Second Thunder to his Hand.
Then leaving ſweet Repoſe, and gentle Eaſe,
With ardent Speed he ſeeks the diſtant Foe:
Marching o'er Hills and Vales, o'er Rocks and Seas,
He meditates, and ſtrikes the wond'rous Blow.
Our Thought flies ſlower than our General's Fame:
Graſps he the Bolt? (we ask) when he has hurl'd the Flame.

But

But when he comes to bring on the Foe to the Charge; to ſhew us *Marlborough* and *Auverquerque* at the Head of their Troops, ſuſtaining the Shock; to diſplay the Paſſions of the *Engliſh* Soldiers at their General's Fall, and the fierce Exultation of the Elector of *Bavaria* on the ſame Occaſion; when he deſcribes *Conqueſt* as a conſtant Inhabitant in *Marlborough*'s Camp, and ſets before us the Flight and Purſuit; in what admirable Colours does he paint every Circumſtance!

And now fierce GALLIA ruſhes on her Foes,
Her Force augmented by the BOYAN Bands:
So VOLGA's Stream, increas'd by Mountain Snows,
Rolls with new Fury down thro' RUSSIA's Lands.
Like two great Rocks againſt the raging Tide
(If Virtue's Force with Nature's we compare)
Unmov'd the two united Chiefs abide,
Suſtain the Impulſe, and receive the War.
Round their firm Sides in vain the Tempeſt beats;
And ſtill the foaming Wave with leſſen'd Pow'r retreats.
The Rage diſpers'd, the glorious Pair advance,
With mingled Anger, and collected Might,
To turn the War, and tell aggreſſing FRANCE,
How BRITAIN's Sons, and BRITAIN's Friends can fight.
On Conqueſt fix'd, and covetous of Fame,
Behold them ruſhing thro' the GALLIC Hoſt.
Thro' ſtanding Corn ſo runs the ſudden Flame,
Or eaſtern Winds along SICILIA's Coaſt.

They

They deal their Terrors to the adverſe Nation:
Pale Death attends their Arms, and ghaſtly Deſolation.

But while with fierceſt Ire BELLONA glows,
And EUROPE rather hopes than fears her Fate;
While BRITAIN preſſes her afflicted Foes;
What Horror damps the Strong, and quells the Great?
Whence look the Soldiers Cheeks diſmay'd and pale?
Erſt ever dreadful, know they now to dread?
The hoſtile Troops, I ween, almoſt prevail;
And the Purſuers only not recede.
Alas! their leſſen'd Rage proclaims their Grief!
For anxious, lo! they croud around their falling Chief.

I thank thee, Fate, exclaims the fierce BAVAR;
Let BOYA's Trumpet grateful Io's ſound:
I ſaw him fall, their Thunderbolt of War:——
Ever to Vengeance ſacred be the Ground——
Vain Wiſh! ſhort Joy! the Hero mounts again
In greater Glory, and with fuller Light.
The Ev'ning Star ſo falls into the Main,
To riſe at Morn more prevalently bright.
He riſes ſafe: But near, too near his Side,
A good Man's grievous Loſs, a faithful Servant dy'd.

Propitious MARS! the Battle is regain'd:
The Foe with leſſen'd Wrath diſputes the Field:
The BRITON fights, by fav'ring Gods ſuſtain'd:
Freedom muſt live; and lawleſs Power muſt yield.
Vain now the Tales which fab'ling Poets tell,
That wav'ring CONQUEST ſtill deſires to rove!
In MARLBRO's Camp the Goddeſs knows to dwell:
Long as the Hero's Life remains her Love.

Again

Again FRANCE flies: Again the Duke purſues
And on RAMILLIA's Plains he BLENHEIM's Fame renews.

His Picture of the *Bavarian* Prince in another Place, and Expoſtulation with him on his preſent Misfortunes, is altogether ſublime. The Speech he puts into the Mouth of the *Royal Treaty-Breaker*, as he calls the *French* King, upon receiving the News of his Army's Defeat, wherein he recapitulates the Honours of the *Britiſh* Nation, and owns the Superiority of the *Woman Chief*, is alſo finely wrought up. And the Column he erects at the End of his Poem, to the Honour of his Miſtreſs and her Commanders, will out-laſt the ſtatelieſt Monument of Braſs or Marble. But theſe being too long to tranſcribe, I muſt refer the Reader to the Ode itſelf, and proceed with our Hiſtory.

Overtures of Peace made by the *French*.

The prodigious Loſſes ſuſtained by the *French* in this and the preceding Campaigns, obliged them, in the Winter, to make Overtures of Peace to the Duke of *Marlborough*, and the States-General. On his Grace's Arrival at the *Hague* in *December*, a Letter from the Elector of *Bavaria* to him, and another to the Field-Deputies, with their reſpective Anſwers, were communicated to the Miniſters of the reſt of the Allies. As theſe were the

the firſt public Advances that were made towards that general Pacification, in which Mr. PRIOR was ſome Years after concerned, I ſhall inſert the Letter to the Duke, with his Anſwer. The other Letter and Anſwer are of the ſame Tenour."

The Elector of *Bavaria*'s Letter to the Duke of *Marlborough*, propoſing a Treaty of Peace.

" THE moſt Chriſtian King, Sir, " finding, that ſome Overtures " of Peace, which he had cauſed to be " made by private Ways, had, inſtead of " producing the Effect of making known " his Diſpoſitions for promoting a general " Peace, been looked upon, by ill-de- " ſigning Perſons, as an Artifice to diſ- " unite the Allies, and make an Advan- " tage of the Miſunderſtanding that " might be created among them, has re- " ſolved to ſhew the Sincerity of his In- " tentions, by renouncing all ſecret Ne- " gotiations, and openly propoſing Con- " ferences, in which Means may be found " for re-eſtabliſhing the Tranquillity of " *Europe*.

" The moſt Chriſtian King is pleaſed " to commiſſion me to inform you of " this, and to deſire you to acquaint the " Queen of *England* with it.

" I give the like Notification on the " part of the moſt Chriſtian King to the " States-General, by a Letter I have writ- " ten to the Field-Deputies; and he would

" do

" do the like with regard to the other " Potentates that are at War with him, " had they Miniſters ſo near at hand as " you are to receive the like Intimation; " he having no Deſign to exclude any of " the ſaid Potentates from the Negotia- " tion, that ſhall be begun in the Con- " ferences he propoſes.

" Farther, for the advancing a Good " ſo great and neceſſary to *Europe*, which " has too long ſuffered the inevitable Ca- " lamities of War; he conſents, that a " Place may forthwith be choſen between " the two Armies, and after their Separa- " tion between *Mons* and *Bruſſels*; in " which, with you, Sir, *with whom the* " *Intereſts of* England *are ſo ſafely en-* " *truſted*, the Deputies the States ſhall " pleaſe to nominate, and the Perſons " whom the King of *France* ſhall im- " power, they may open their Intentions " upon ſo important an Affair. I am ex- " tremely pleaſed, Sir, to have ſuch an " Occaſion to make you this Overture; " being perſuaded, it will leave no room " for making a Doubt of the Senti- " ments of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty; " and, as it may be ſo beneficial to all " *Europe*, you will be glad to give an " Account of this to the Queen of *En-* " *gland*, without Loſs of Time, and to " whomſoever elſe you ſhall think fit.

" I

" I ſhall expect your Anſwer, Sir, to
" communicate it to the moſt Chriſtian
" King, and ſhall be always ready, Sir,
" to do you Service.

Sign'd

Mons, October 21, 1706.

M. EMANUEL, Elector.

The Duke of MARLBOROUGH's *Anſwer.*

SIR,

" HAVING communicated to the
" Queen, my Miſtreſs, what your
" Electoral Highneſs did me the Honour
" to write to me in your Letter of the
" 21ſt of laſt Month, of the Intentions
" of the moſt Chriſtian King to endea-
" vour to re-eſtabliſh the Tranquillity of
" *Europe*, by Conference to be held for
" that Purpoſe between Deputies on both
" Sides; Her Majeſty has commanded
" me to anſwer your Electoral Highneſs,
" that it is a Pleaſure to her to be inform-
" ed of the King's Inclinations to agree to
" the making of a ſolid and laſting Peace
" with all the Allies. As this is the ſole
" End, that obliges her Majeſty to con-
" tinue this War till now; ſo ſhe will
" be very glad to conclude it, in concert
" with all her Allies, on Conditions that
" may

The Duke of *Marlborough*'s Anſwer.

" may ſecure them from all Apprehenſi-
" ons of being forced to take up Arms again,
" after a ſhort Interval, as happened laſt
" Time. Her Majeſty is alſo willing
" I ſhould declare, that ſhe is ready to
" enter jointly, with all the High Allies,
" into juſt and neceſſary Meaſures for
" ſettling ſuch a Peace; her Majeſty being
" determined, not to enter upon any Ne-
" gotiation without the Participation of
" her ſaid Allies; but the Way of Con-
" ferences, that is propoſed, without
" more particular Declarations on the
" Part of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty,
" does not ſeem proper to her for attain-
" ing a truely ſolid and laſting Peace. Their
" Lordſhips the States-Generals are of
" the ſame Opinion; therefore your Elec-
" toral Highneſs will rightly judge, that
" it is neceſſary to think of other more
" ſolid Means to attain ſo great an End;
" to which her Majeſty will contribute
" with all the Sincerity, that can be
" ſhewed; having nothing ſo much at
" Heart, as the Relief of her Subjects,
" and the Tranquillity of *Europe*. Your
" Electoral Highneſs will always do me
" the Juſtice to be perſuaded of the Re-
" ſpect, with which I have the Honour
" to be, *&c.*

Hague, Nov. 20. 1706.

The

The War at this Time carrying on, was no doubt a juſt one on the part of the Allies: But it ſeems unaccountable that they ſhould not hearken to Propoſals of Peace, when made openly by the common Enemy. As it will be very much my Buſineſs, in the remaining Part of this Work, to defend the Accommodation that was afterwards agreed on, I ſhall, as I go on, give my Readers the Reflections that have been made on theſe Letters, and all the other Negotiations of Peace that were not effectual. The grand Charge againſt the Queen's laſt Miniſtry, among whom we muſt number Mr. PRIOR, was the making a diſhonourable Peace; and the Negotiations of this Treaty were the chief Subject of Inquiry in the Secret Committee, before whom we ſhall ſee Mr. PRIOR examined: But if we ſhall make it appear, that far from being improper at that Time, a Peace was long before highly neceſſary, and might have been made with the greateſt Advantage to the Allies, it will complete Mr. PRIOR's Vindication of the Meaſures then taken, in his Anſwer to *The Report of the ſecret Committee*, which, ſo far as he carried it, will be inſerted in its proper Place at large, from a Manuſcript corrected by himſelf.

I will only make one Remark before I proceed; which is, that if Mr. PRIOR,

or the Authors I quote in his Behalf, ſhould not treat the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Conduct in what follows with all that Reſpect, and even Veneration that appears in the foregoing Poems, it ought to be attributed to the manifeſt Alteration that was diſcovered in his Grace's Conduct, and his ſeeming Backwardneſs to conclude the War, after he had, to all Appearance, obtained the Ends for which it was undertaken. Mr. PRIOR's Attachment to any particular Man, could not make him forego his real Principles; which led him to purſue the Peace and Happineſs, rather than the Honour and Reputation of his Country.

Remarks on the foregoing Letters.

'It appears from the foregoing Letters*, 'that there had been a ſecret Negotiation 'carried on between the *French*, the De-'puties, and his Grace, and Terms had 'been offered; but it was not thought 'convenient to accept of them, or to 'publiſh any thing more relating to the 'Treaty, than theſe Letters: But, as 'this Overture for a Treaty is ſaid to have 'been intended only to amuſe and divide 'the Allies, ſurely we might have entered 'into a Treaty, whether we had liked 'their Terms, or not, if it had been

* Modern Hiſtory, *Vol.* XXV. *p.* 342.

'only

'only to amuſe the Enemy, and prevent
'the Loſs of that Part of *Spain* that had
'declared for King CHARLES, till we
'could have ſent a Body of Troops to
'their Protection: For our Miniſters were
'not ignorant at that Time, That the
'*French* and *Spaniards* were ſuperior to
'the Allies in that Kingdom: That the
'Confederate Army had already been
'forced to abandon the Towns in
'*Caſtile* that had declared for King
'CHARLES, and leave the miſerable Na-
'tives to the Mercy of the Enemy: That
'the remaining Provinces of *Arragon*,
'*Catalonia*, and *Valencia*, which the Al-
'lies yet poſſeſſed, would alſo probably
'be compelled to ſubmit to King PHI-
'LIP again the next Campaign, by the
'Superiority of Troops that Prince had
'already, as well as by the great Re-in-
'forcements the *French* King was ſend-
'ing to *Spain*, now the War in *Italy* was
'at an End; for we took very little
'Care, to re-inforce our Army either from
'*England* or *Italy*, from whence twenty
'or thirty thouſand Men might have been
'ſent this Winter, and have eſtabliſhed King
'CHARLES on that Throne, and there-
'by have put an End to the War at once,
'if this had been our Deſign. The Lord
'*Peterborough* was ſo ſenſible of this Neg-
'lect, and of the great Preparations the

'*French* King was making to fix his 'Grandſon on the Throne of *Spain*, that 'he wrote the moſt moving Letters to 'the Court of *England*, not to abandon 'that People and their own Troops to in-'evitable Deſtruction; and actually made 'a Voyage to *Italy*, where the Confede-'rates had at this Time upwards of ſixty 'thouſand Men (and no Enemy that 'durſt appear in the Field) in order to 'procure a Re-inforcement of Troops, 'and at the ſame time begged of the Con-'federate Generals in *Spain*, to remain 'upon the Defenſive, till a Body of 'Troops could be ſent over; foreſeeing 'they could not reſiſt the United Forces 'of *France* and *Spain*, if a Battle hap-'pened, before they received freſh Sup-'plies. But the Allies neither took care 'to ſend Forces in time, to defend the '*Spaniards* that had declared for them; 'nor would enter into a Treaty of Peace, 'whereby they might have preſerved the 'Provinces they poſſeſſed in *Spain*, till a 'Re-inforcement had been got ready: To 'which ſtupid or treacherous Conduct we 'may juſtly aſcribe the Loſs of that King-'dom; for when this People had been ſo 'exceeding forward to declare for us, and 'found themſelves deſerted and aban-'doned to the Rage of their incenſed 'Prince, they could never be prevailed

'on

'on to rely on the Honour of the Allies 'a ſecond time.

'But farther, it is evident from ſome 'Letters and Papers that the Allies pub- 'liſhed themſelves this Winter, that they 'might then have had a Peace that would 'have anſwered all the Ends of the Grand 'Alliance, and even have obtained a great 'deal more than the Confederates propo- 'ſed to themſelves at the Beginning of 'the War, if that would have contented 'them.

'In a Letter, ſaid to be written by 'Monſieur *Chamillard*, Secretary to the '*French* King, to the Duke of *Berwick*, 'Captain-General of the *French* Forces 'in *Caſtile*, and ſaid to be intercepted by 'the Allies, are theſe Expreſſions: "The 'ill Succeſs of our Armies in *Flanders* 'and *Italy*, hath obliged his Majeſty to 'make Overtures of Peace, not very a- 'greeable to the Honour and Intereſt of '*France*. The ſupporting *Spain* may be 'the Ruin of *France*; to prevent which, 'the King hath reſolved to hearken to the 'hard and unſufferable Terms of Peace. 'Whilſt his Majeſty's Miniſters are in 'Treaty, it will be neceſſary to quit '*Spain*; and that your Excellency uſe all 'Artifices to ruin the Country, that it be 'not in a Condition for many Years to 'think of any Thing more, than to repair

The *French* offer to yield all that was demanded by the Allies at the Beginning of the War.

'its own Loſſes, and be incapable of de-
'fending itſelf alone.

'The ſecond Letter, publiſhed by the
'Allies, was that from the *French* King
'to the Pope; wherein that Monarch
'tells his Holineſs, That the King of
'*Spain*, his Grandſon, had entruſted him
'with Powers to transfer to the Archduke
'(King CHARLES III.) Part of the Domi-
'nions which compoſe the *Spaniſh* Mo-
'narchy: That the Catholick King had
'the Hearts of the true *Spaniards*, and
'contended himſelf to reign over them:
'He was willing to relinquiſh the *Mila-*
'*neſe*, *Naples*, *Sicily*, with the other I-
'ſlands in the *Mediterranean* belonging
'to *Spain*, to the Archduke; and that
'they ſhould be for ever united to the
'Houſe of *Auſtria*: That he was ready
'alſo to give the *United Provinces* a Bar-
'rier: And thus the two Pretences of the
'War being removed, an End might be
'put to the Misfortunes *Europe* had ſo
'long groaned under.

A Reſolution to continue the War till *France* and *Spain* were ſubdued.

'But, as the Battle of *Blenheim* had
'given the Allies Hopes of making an
'entire Conqueſt of the *Spaniſh* Domini-
'ons; ſo the Victories of *Ramillies* and
'*Turin* had inſpired them with a Reſolu-
'tion of continuing the War till *France*
'was conquered, as will be abundantly
'evident from the Operations of the ſuc-
'ceeding

'ceeding Campaign: And thus, by graſp-
'ing at too much, the Allies loſt what
'they had already gained.

The ſucceeding Campaign, here referred to, was indeed very unlike that we have laſt deſcribed. The Battle of *Almanza* was loſt in *Spain*, to the Ruin of King CHARLES's Affairs in that Kingdom. The Emperor was unſucceſsful upon the *Rhine*, and it was even with Difficulty that he defended his Hereditary Dominions, without ſending any Forces into *Flanders*. In this latter Place the Dukes of *Marlborough* and *Vendoſme*, each of them at the Head of an hundred thouſand Men, ſpent their Time in looking upon one another, without attempting to come to an Engagement. An Enterprize was concerted againſt *Toulon*, the beſt Harbour in *France*, and where moſt of the Royal Navy is laid up: But tho' the Duke of *Savoy* and Prince *Eugene* conducted it by Land, and had the Aſſiſtance of Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel* with his Fleet, the whole came to nothing. Campaign of 1707.

From a Letter of the Earl of *Peterborough*'s to the *Portugueſe* Ambaſſador in King CHARLES's Court, written before the fatal Battle of *Almanza*, and a Memorial preſented after it to her *Britannic* Majeſty

Remarks on the Campaign of 1707.

by the Imperial and *Spaniſh* Miniſters, * it appears, That his Catholic Majeſty, and the *Germans* about him, as well as the Earl of *Peterborough*, were againſt fighting, till freſh Succours ſhould arrive. It is alſo certain, that there was no Neceſſity of fighting; for they had Forces enough to defend the Frontiers of *Valencia* and *Arragon*, and might have been ſupported and ſupplied with Proviſions by the *Engliſh* Fleet, then in the *Mediterranean*; but the chief Command, as well as the Poſt of Honour, being yielded by the Earl of *Galway* to the *Portugueſe*; and the Earl concurring with the Marquis *das Minas* in all his Projects, neglected entirely the Advice both of the King and the Earl of *Peterborough*; who, not thinking it for the Honour of the *German* or *Britiſh* Nations, to ſubmit to the Dictates of the *Portugueſe* General, unhappily left the Army in *Valencia*, before the Battle of *Almanza*: And it is very reaſonable to believe, that King CHARLES had much the ſame Inducement not to join the Army near *Madrid* the Year before. He knew the *Portugueſe* would not yield the Command to him, even in *Spain*; which muſt have rendered him contemptible in the Eyes of the *Spaniards*, and

* Modern Hiſtory *Vol.* XXV. *p.* 408.

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naturally have been of very ill Conſequence to his Affairs.

Nor can the Conduct of our Generals in other Places be defended in every Inſtance. What can be ſaid for our lying idle Spectators in *Flanders*, when our Friends in *Spain* were reduced to the laſt Extremity, and the Duke of *Savoy* and Prince *Eugene* marched into South *France*, to beſiege *Toulon*. Surely, if ever it was neceſſary to give the Enemy ſome Diverſion in *Flanders*, this was the Time, in order to prevent their ſending Re-inforcements to *Spain* or *Provence*. Can we imagine, that the Duke of *Marlborough*, at the Head of the fineſt Army that ever the World ſaw (one hundred thouſand Veteran Troops) who had beaten the Enemy the Year before, deſtroyed and taken twenty Thouſand of their beſt Troops, and taken Towns before their Faces without Number, either wanted Courage or Stratagems this Campaign, to alarm and diſtreſs his baffled Enemy, who fled before him the laſt, and were not yet recovered from their Panic? No, this cannot be ſuppoſed; and I wiſh his Friends would furniſh us with a better Reaſon for this indolent Conduct, than that he did not heartily deſire to ſee a ſpeedy End put to the War. The Preſumptions are ſtrong againſt him. Had he acted with the ſame

Vigour

Vigour he had done hitherto, and the Duke of *Savoy* entered *Provence* at the ſame time with ſixty thouſand Men, inſtead of forty (as he might have done, if that Detachment had not been made to *Naples*) the *French* King would probably have been brought upon his Knees, and readily have yielded up *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies*, as well as the reſt of the *Spaniſh* Territories, notwithſtanding his Victory at *Almanza*. The *German* General's ſending fifteen thouſand Men therefore to *Naples*, and the Duke's Inaction in *Flanders*, could, according to ſome, proceed from nothing elſe, but an Apprehenſion that the War would have been brought to too ſpeedy a Concluſion. Theſe great Men, it muſt be acknowledged, made a much greater Figure in War, than they could expect to make in Time of Peace; courted univerſally at home and abroad, and golden Showers perpetually deſcending upon them: Temptations too great for mortal Men to reſiſt.

We were bleſs'd with Succeſs, 'tis true, during this Adminiſtration; but ſurely never was ſuch an ill Uſe made of Victories. Could it be ſuppoſed, when we had been every where victorious, when ſo conſiderable a Kingdom as *Spain* had juſt declared for King CHARLES our good Ally, it ſhould have been abandoned by us to the

the Rage of King PHILIP? Were not the Allies bound, in Honour as well as Intereſt, to have ſecured and protected *Spain*, before they had ventured upon that doubtful Enterprize againſt *Toulon*? They would afterwards have been in a better Condition to have invaded *France*; and *Naples*, every body agrees, would have fallen of itſelf. To ſuffer the Kingdom of *Spain* therefore to be wreſted out of our Hands, when the People had declared for us, and we had ſo vaſt a Superiority of Troops in *Italy*, and a much better Army in *Flanders* than the *French* had there, will ſcarce admit of an Apology.

It could hardly be expected that the *French*, after this Turn in their Favour, ſhould apply the next Winter for an Accommodation. And indeed if they had done it, there is little room to think their Propoſals would have been liſtened to: For ſo did the Councils of the Miniſtry prevail in general, that nothing but an entire Reduction of the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy was held ſufficient on our Parts, tho' much of it had been loſt back in the preceding Campaign. That this was the Senſe of both Houſes of Parliament, we learn from their Addreſs of the 23d of *December*; and her Majeſty's Anſwer, annexed thereto, ſhews how the Miniſty was inclined.

" We

The Addreſs of both Houſes, that no Peace can be ſafe without recovering *the whole* Spaniſh *Monarchy.*

"WE, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful "and loyal Subjects, the Lords "Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons "in Parliament aſſembled, having been al-"ways fully perſuaded, that nothing could "reſtore a juſt Balance of Power in *Europe*, "*but the reducing the whole* Spaniſh *Mo-*"*narchy to the Obedience of the Houſe of* "Auſtria, and having ſeen ſeveral great "Parts of that Monarchy, by the Bleſ-"ſing of God upon the victorious Arms "of your Majeſty, and your Allies, al-"ready in the Poſſeſſion of that Houſe; "do think it, not only ſeaſonable, but "neceſſary, at this Juncture, humbly to "offer this our unanimous Opinion to "your Majeſty, *That no Peace can be* "*honourable or ſafe for your Majeſty, or* "*your Allies, if* Spain, *the* Weſt-Indies, "*or any Part of the* Spaniſh *Monarchy,* "*be ſuffered to remain under the Power of* "*the Houſe of* Bourbon.

They complain of the Deficiences of the Allies.

"When we conſider, what Efforts this "Kingdom has continued to make from "the Beginning of the War, we cannot "but think a much greater Impreſſion "might have been made upon the Ene-"my before this time, *if ſome of our Al-*"*lies, who ſeem principally concerned, and* "*have reaped the moſt immediate Advan-*"*tage, had ſeconded your Majeſty with like*

"*Vigour,*

" *Vigour*, whereby *France* might have " been equally preſs'd on all Sides.

" We are obliged to return our humble " Thanks to your Majeſty, for the Care " you have taken, and the Inſtances you " have uſed with his Imperial Majeſty, " for ſending a conſiderable Force to the " Relief of *Spain*, under the Command " of Prince *Eugene*; as being certainly " the moſt likely Method to reſtore the " Affairs of the Confederacy in that " Country.

" But the *frequent Diſappointments we* " *have obſerved on the part of the Empe-* " *ror and Empire, to the great Prejudice* " *of the common Cauſe*, make us think it " our Duty, in order that the War may " be brought to a ſpeedy and happy Con- " cluſion, to beſeech your Majeſty to " make the moſt preſſing Inſtances to the " Emperor, that he would, with all Ex- " pedition, ſend powerful Succours to " his Brother the King of *Spain*, under " the Conduct of that great and ſucceſs- " ful General; that he would timely and " effectually make good what has been " concerted for his putting twenty thou- " ſand Men under the Command of the " Duke of *Savoy*, and would alſo make " Uſe of his utmoſt Power and Intereſt " for ſtrengthening the Army upon the " *Rhine*, which is now happily put under

" the

" the Command of that wiſe and valiant " Prince the Elector of *Hanover*.

" We believe, no part of this can be " refuſed, upon your Majeſty's earneſt " Interpoſition, who have done ſuch " great Things for the Houſe of *Auſtria*; " and this being complied with, we " may reaſonably hope, by God's Aſſiſ- " tance, the next will prove a happy and " glorious Campaign."

Her Majeſty's moſt gracious Anſwer.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The Queen's Anſwer.

" I AM fully of your Opinion, that " no Peace can be honourable or ſafe " for us, or for our Allies, *till the entire* " *Monarchy of* Spain *be reſtored to the* " *Houſe of* Auſtria; and am very well " pleaſed to find, that the Meaſures I " have concerted for the Succour of the " King of *Spain*, are ſo well approved " by both Houſes of Parliament.

" I ſhall continue my moſt preſſing In- " ſtances with the Emperor, for the " haſtening of farther Succours, and that " they may be commanded by Prince " *Eugene*; as alſo, upon all the other " Particulars mentioned in your Addreſs."

Nor

Nor did the Commons act less vigorously in granting Supplies, than they had expressed themselves in their Address. The Consequences of which were, that an Enterprize of the Pretender and *France* against *Scotland* was easily repell'd, and the Allies got early into the Field the ensuing Summer. Prince *Eugene* and the Duke of *Marlborough* met at the *Hague* in the Beginning of *April*, and conjointly waited on the Elector of *Hanover*, who commanded on the *Rhine*. At this Congress it was agreed, that the Imperialists should remain upon the Defensive in *Germany*, and detach what Forces they could spare under the Command of Prince *Eugene*, to act in Conjunction with those of the Duke of *Marlborough* in *Flanders*, where the Allies proposed to make their greatest Efforts this Campaign. Accordingly the Duke of *Marlborough* took the Field about the Middle of *May*; and, having posted himself on the Enemy's Frontiers, drew most of the Garrisons out of the Towns in *Flanders*, imagining they were sufficiently covered from the Attacks of the Enemy by his Army: But the *Flemmings*, who were generally better affected to the *French* than the *Dutch*, as well upon the account of Religion, as other Considerations; and retaining a very great Affection

Campaign of 1708.

Resolved to make the greatest Efforts in *Flanders*.

tion for the Elector of *Bavaria*, who had lately governed them with great Humanity and Tenderneſs, readily liſtened to his Invitation to ſubmit to King PHILIP, and promiſed to open their Gates, if a Detachment of the *French* Troops ſhould appear before them in the Abſence of the Confederate Army. The principal Towns that had entered into this Conſpiracy, were, *Antwerp*, *Ghent*, and *Bruges*; but the Treachery of *Antwerp* was diſcovered, and prevented: However, a Body of *French* Troops having found Means to paſs the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Army undiſcovered; and, coming before *Ghent* and *Bruges* in the Night-time, were let in by the Burghers, and poſſeſſed themſelves of thoſe two great Cities; and from thence the *French* Army marched into *Dutch Flanders*, and laid that Country under Contribution. About which Time, the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Berry* taking the Field, and joining the Duke of *Vendoſme*, they had ſo great a Superiority of Troops before the *Germans* joined the Duke of *Marlborough*, that they ventured to lay Siege to *Oudenarde*, which was inveſted the 9th of *July*. Whereupon the Duke of *Marlborough*, who was joined about the ſame Time by Prince *Eugene*, and Part of the *Germans*, made a very long ſwift March to the Relief of that

Ghent and *Bruges* delivered up to the *French* by the Inhabitants.

The Duke of *Burgundy* beſieges *Oudenarde*

that Place. On the Approach of the Allies, the *French* thought fit to raiſe the Siege, and prepare for an Engagement; and the Confederate Generals not declining it, a Battle enſued, of which the *Dutch* Deputies in the Army gave the following Relation to the States-General.

Riſes from before it on the Approach of the Allies.

High and Mighty Lords,

" OUR Army, having marched on " *Sunday* Night from *Aſche*, took " the Road of *Leſſines*, in order to paſs " the *Dender* at that Place; which was " done without Oppoſition from the " Enemy, whom we had prevented by a " ſudden March; and, arriving there on " *Tueſday* Evening, we underſtood that " the Enemy were marched from *Aloſt* " towards *Gavre*, where they cauſed " Bridges to be made, in order to paſs the " *Scheld*; which made us believe they " deſigned to poſt themſelves upon the " Height of *Oudenarde*, and hinder us " from paſſing the *Scheld*; and, though " our Army was very much fatigued by " the foregoing March, yet we reſolved " to proceed on our March Yeſterday; " and, if poſſible, to prevent the Enemy: " We detach'd therefore ſixteen Battalions " in the Night to take Poſt on the other " Side the *Scheld* near *Oudenarde*, and to

" lay the Bridges neceſſary for our Paſ-
" ſage. Yeſterday Morning, about Nine,
" we received Advice that the Enemy
" had paſſed the *Scheld*, and were march-
" ing towards *Oudenarde*; which made
" us haſten our March as much as poſſi-
" ble, for fear our Detachment that was
" ſent over ſhould be defeated, and our-
" ſelves prevented in our Deſign of paſ-
The Battle of *Oudenarde*. " ſing the *Scheld*. But, by that Time
" the Enemy was come near *Oudenarde*,
" they ſaw we had already taken Poſt
" over the *Scheld*, which made them re-
" ſolve to ſtrike off to the Right; but,
" to cover their March againſt ours, they
" thought fit to throw their Troops into
" the Hedges, and into a Village upon
" the *Scheld* below *Oudenarde*. About
" Three in the Afternoon, as ſoon as our
" Foot began to come up, it was judged
" adviſeable to attack the Village; and
" thereby oblige the Enemy to go no
" farther, but ſtop their March: This
" Attack was made with ſo much Vigour
" and Succeſs, that the Enemy was im-
" mediately driven out of the Village,
" our Men falling upon them with their
" Bayonets in the Muzzles of their Muſ-
" kets, and not firing a Piece; ſo that
" they preſently threw down their Arms,
" and a whole Brigade, together with
" the Brigadier, ſurrendered Priſoners.

" The

" The few Horſe that had paſſed with
" the Detachment, attacked likewiſe the
" *French* Squadrons, poſted behind the
" Village, with ſo much Succeſs, that
" they were put into Diſorder, and puſh-
" ed; our Men taking from them eight
" or ten Standards, and ſome Horſes.
" Hereupon the Enemy were forced to
" face about to us, and form themſelves
" about four of the Clock; when moſt
" of our Foot being over and formed,
" the general Engagement began firſt on
" the Right, and afterwards on the Left
" Wing: The Fight was properly be-
" tween the Foot, and was obſtinate;
" but our Men got Ground, and drove
" the Enemy from one Hedge to another,
" till Night put an End to the Combat:
" The Horſe, who by Reaſon of the
" broken Ground could not act, were de-
" tach'd to the Right and Left Wing;
" and advanced ſo far, that they attacked
" the Enemy in Flank and Rear; which
" when they perceived, they fell in the
" Night into the utmoſt Confuſion, and
" Part of them retired, with the Baggage
" and Artillery, towards *Ghent* and *Deynſe*;
" another Part towards the Road of *Cour-*
" *tray*; and, according to Computation,
" ſix or ſeven thouſand ſurrender'd them-
" ſelves Priſoners, with three or four
" hundred Officers at their Head; among

" whom are ſeveral Dukes and General " Officers. Had not the Night come to " their Aſſiſtance, we believe they would " have ſaved very little of their Army. " We therefore congratulate your High " Mightineſſes upon this complete Victory, " which God Almighty has ſo graciouſly " vouchſafed; and which gives us an Op- " portunity, with this victorious Army, " and that of Prince *Eugene*, who was " preſent at this Action, to extend the " Frontiers farther, and bring the Enemy " to Reaſon. Each General made ſo " good a Diſpoſition, and every Regiment " attacked the Enemy ſo well, and with " ſo much Intrepidity, that it was impoſ- " ſible for any one to ſignalize himſelf in " a particular Manner. Our Loſs, God " be thanked, is ſo ſmall, that there is " not, as we know of, one Regiment out " of a Condition to make the reſt of the " Campaign. Among the Horſe, our " Loſs is nothing at all; nor do we yet " know that we have loſt any Head Of- " ficer of the State. With which,

High and Mighty Lords, &c.

Oudenarde, July 12, 1708.

The Confederates, after this Victory, levelled the *French* Lines between *Ypres* and the *Lys*, and raiſed Contributions in *Artois*

Artois and *Picardy*; which put the City of *Paris* itſelf into Conſternation; and poſſibly the *French* were not diſpleaſed to ſee the Allies ſit down before *Liſle*, which they knew would ſtop their Progreſs for ſome Months. The City of *Liſle* beſieged.

I ſhall not give the Hiſtory of this Siege at large, though it was one of the moſt remarkable in the whole War. It is ſufficient to obſerve, that the Beſiegers loſt a great Number of Men, had their Proviſions almoſt exhauſted, and were in Danger of being obliged to quit the Enterprize. Their Communication with *Bruſſels*, whence they expected Supplies, was cut off by the *French* Army, and it was with great Difficulty and Hazard that they got Proviſions from *Oſtend:* For in attempting of this happened the famous Battle at *Wynendale*, under General *Webb*; which, conſidering the Inequality of Numbers, and other Diſadvantages on the Side of the *Engliſh*, was not inferior to any other. *Webb* had in the Action only ſix thouſand Men, and left an equal Number of the Enemy dead on the Field, with the Loſs of only nine hundred killed and wounded. In ſhort, he got a complete Victory over an Army of 24,000 Horſe and Foot, commanded by the Count *de la Motte*; ſecured all the Carriages, and ena- Battle of *Wynendale*.

bled the grand Army to finiſh the Reduction of *Liſle*.

Liſle taken. It was not till the 8th of *December*, N. S. that the Caſtle of *Liſle* ſurrendered. Ten Days after the Duke of *Marlborough* *Ghent* taken. inveſted *Ghent*, which he carried in leſs than a Fortnight. It has been obſerved, * that his Grace was never more fortunate than in the ſudden Reduction of this Place; for the Articles were ſcarce ſigned when the ſe- A ſevere Froſt. vereſt Froſt began that had been known in the Memory of Man: The very Horſes Hoofs froze to the Ground, and his Army muſt infallibly have periſhed, if the Town had held out a very few Days longer; which had been no difficult Matter, ſince there was no Breach made in the Walls, and the Count *de la Motte* had a good Army within the Town, ſupplied with all Neceſſaries; (and indeed leſs than an Army could not have defended *Ghent*, which is twelve Miles round upon the Walls.) The Allies, it is true, were in the End very ſucceſsful in *Flanders* this Campaign; but The Allies had two very narrow Eſcapes, one at *Wynendale*, and the other at *Ghent*. Had they miſcarried at either Place, that fine Army of the Confederates, conſiſting of Veteran Troops, would infallibly have been ruined; a Loſs, that the Allies could

* Modern Hiſtory, *Vol.* XXVI. *p.* 3.

ſcarce

ſcarce ever have retrieved. It may be conſidered farther, that the Siege of *Liſle* was the unhappy Occaſion of the ill Succeſs of the War in other Places in this Campaign. Our Affairs were again miſerably neglected in *Spain* and *Portugal*, to humour the Duke and Prince *Eugene* in this Enterprize: We even broke our Treaty with *Portugal* on their Account, and ſent Major-General *Earl* to *Oſtend* with eight thouſand Men, to aſſiſt in protecting the Supplies of Ammunition and Proviſion, that were continually ſending to *Liſle*, when thoſe Forces were raiſed and embarked for the Service in *Portugal*; which was the Reaſon the *Portugueſe* could make no Diverſion on that Side, while the Duke of *Orleans* preſſed the Allies in *Catalonia*, and beſieged *Tortoſa*, which ſurrendered the 11th of *July*; as did afterwards the Towns of *Denia* and *Alicant* in *Valencia*. Count *Staremberg* had indeed been ſent from *Italy* to *Catalonia* with a ſmall Reinforcement of Troops the Beginning of the Year 1708, which enabled him to ſave the Remainder of *Catalonia*; but he was not in a Condition to act offenſively till the latter End of the Year: For the Marquis *das Minas*, the General of the *Portugueſe*, and that other unfortunate General the Earl of *Galway*, with the *Portugueſe* Forces in *Catalonia*, had been

The Siege of *Liſle* the Occaſion of our Loſſes in *Spain*.

tranſported from *Catalonia* to *Portugal* to defend that Country; which was highly neceſſary, after the Allies had failed in ſending the Forces to *Portugal*, which they had engaged to do by their Treaty with that Crown.

And, indeed, both King CHARLES and the King of *Portugal* ſeemed to have agreed upon a Ceſſation from the Fatigues of War the latter End of this Year, in order to follow ſofter Amuſements. King CHARLES firſt made his Addreſſes to the Princeſs of *Anſpach*, our late Queen; who, refuſing to alter her Religion for the Sake of a precarious Crown, he courted the Princeſs of *Wolfembuttle*, and was ſo fortunate as to perſuade her to renounce her Proteſtant Principles, and not only conſent to a Marriage, but to go over in Perſon to *Barcelona*, and conſummate her Nuptials there. And as to the King of *Portugal*, he was married by Proxy to *Mary Anne* of *Auſtria*, the Emperor's ſecond Siſter.

The Princeſs of *Anſpach* refuſes to turn Papiſt and marry King CHARLES.

King CHARLES marries the Princeſs of *Wolfembuttle*.

Succeſs of the *Engliſh* at Sea.

Sir *John Leake* had the good Fortune this Year not only to take and deſtroy many of the Enemy's Barks in *Italy*, but alſo to reduce the whole Iſland of *Sardinia* to the Obedience of King CHARLES, and that of *Minorca*, in which is the commodious Harbour of *Port-Mahon*, for the Service

Service of his Miſtreſs and the *Engliſh* Nation. And Commodore *Wager* (ſince Sir *Charles*) with four *Engliſh* Men of War, attacked ſeventeen *Spaniſh* Galleons near *Cartagena* in the *Weſt-Indies*, of whom the *Spaniſh* Admiral, valued at three Millions of Pieces of Eight, was blown up, and the Rear-Admiral taken. The Commodore's Share only of this Prize amounted to 100,000 *l.* and upon his Return home he was made Rear-Admiral for this Piece of Service.

The Severity of the Winter of 1708-9 has been already taken notice of. The *French*, to the Loſſes they had ſuſtained the laſt Campaign, had now the additional Misfortune of being deſtroyed by Famine and the Rigour of the Seaſon. Their Crop failed them the laſt Year; and this being ſucceeded by a cold Winter, when they had ſcarce any Proviſions left, Multitudes of their People periſhed: And that which no leſs afflicted the Court of *France* was, that the King's Revenues were exhauſted; his Funds appeared inſufficient to pay the Intereſt of the national Debt. Mr. *Bernard*, the Principal of his Bankers, and many more of his Brethren, who us'd to make Remittances of Money and foreign Payments, for the Service of that Crown, broke, and abundance

dance of People, before in flouriſhing Circumſtances, who had lodged Money in their Hands, were reduced to a State of Beggary. Theſe Calamities inducing the *French* King to think of Peace in earneſt, pacifick Propoſals were made by his Miniſters about this Time to the States-General and the Duke of *Marlborough*: For his Grace remained in the *Netherlands* great Part of this Winter, to be in Readineſs, as was given out, to prevent the *French* General's ſurprizing the Forces of the Allies, during the Froſt. But, probably, the principal Reaſon of the Duke's remaining on that Side the Water was, to hear what Terms the *French* Miniſters would propoſe: For his Grace, arriving at *London* in *February*, the Belief of his having brought Offers of that Nature from *France* along with him, was ſo univerſal, that both Houſes agreed upon an Addreſs to her Majeſty, deſiring, "That the "*French* King might be obliged to own "her Majeſty's Titles and the Proteſtant "Succeſſion, and that the Allies might "be Guarantees of the ſame: That the "Pretender might be removed out of the "*French* Dominions; and that the Har"bour and Fortifications of *Dunkirk* "might be demoliſhed, upon the Con"cluſion of a Peace".

The *French* make Overtures of Peace.

About

About the ſame Time Monſieur *Petticum*, the Miniſter of *Holſtein*, a Neutral Power, having propoſed to the Powers engaged in a War, the entering into Negotiations of Peace, had prevailed with the States to ſuffer the Preſident *Rouille* to come from the *French* Court into *Holland*, in order to ſettle Preliminaries with the Allies. The Preſident ſucceeded ſo well, that the States and this Miniſter were in a manner agreed; of which the Emperor and her *Britiſh* Majeſty being informed, Prince *Eugene* was ſent to *Holland* by the Emperor, and arrived at the *Hague* the 27th of *March*; as did the Duke of *Marlborough*, on the Part of *Great Britain*, the 8th of *April*. His Grace, finding that the *French* made very ſpecious Offers, and in a manner granted whatever the Allies could ask, returned to *England* again, to conſult the Miniſters there; not caring to take the whole Burthen of that Negotiation upon himſelf: In which he diſcovered his uſual Caution and Prudence; for, as he was General of the Army, and had ſo great an Intereſt in continuing the War, he well foreſaw, that if he took upon him to reject the advantageous Offers made by the *French*, his Enemies would inſinuate, he was governed by private Views: And, on the other hand, ſhould any thing be found in the Articles

Mr. *Petticum*'s Negotiations, and their Effect.

Articles prejudicial to *Britain*, as he was ſole Plenipotentiary on the Part of Her Majeſty, the Odium of it would naturally fall on him. He did not therefore only take the Opinion of the reſt of the Miniſtry, before he returned to *Holland*, but took over the Lord *Townſhend* with him, as Joint-Plenipotentiary at the intended Treaty; a noble young Lord, that he knew would pay due Regard to the Opinion and Experience of the General: And, thus prepared and armed againſt the Cavils of his Enemies, he returned to the *Hague*, accompanied by the Lord *Townſhend*, the Middle of *May*; where they found the Marquis *de Torcy*, Secretary of State to the *French* King, lately arrived to give the laſt Hand to the Negotiation.

The Duke of *Marlborough* and Lord *Townſhend* Plenipotentiaries.

Theſe Gentlemen, together with the Miniſters of the reſt of the Powers engaged in War, having debated the Terms of a general Peace for ſome Time, on the 28th of *May*, agreed on Preliminaries of the following Tenor:

" That a firm and laſting Peace ſhall " be eſtabliſhed between the Allies and " his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty: That " the *French* ſhall acknowledge King " CHARLES to be King of *Spain*, and " the Territories dependent on that Crown; " and if King PHILIP refuſe to conſent " thereto,

" thereto, His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty " ſhall take Meaſures, in Conjunction " with the Allies, to force him to it; and " his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall with- " draw all his Forces out of the Domi- " nions of *Spain*, within two Months: " That the *Spaniſh* Monarchy ſhall re- " main entire in the Houſe of *Auſtria*; " nor ſhall any King who reigns in *France*, " ever reign in *Spain*, or poſſeſs any Part " of its Dominions: That the *French* " King ſhall deliver up *Strasburg*, *Fort* " *Kehl*, *Landau*, and *Briſac*, to the Empe- " ror; and cauſe *Hunningen*, *New Briſac*, " and *Fort Louis*, to be demoliſhed: That " he ſhall acknowledge the Queen of " *Great Britain*, and the Proteſtant Suc- " ceſſion; baniſh the Pretender; deliver " to the *Engliſh Newfoundland*, and de- " moliſh *Dunkirk*: That he ſhall relin- " quiſh to the Powers ſpecified, *Namur*, " *Mons*, *Charleroy*, *Furnes*, *Luxemburg*, " *Menin*, *Liſle*, *Ypres*, *Newport*, *Doway*, " *Tournay*, *Condé*, *Maubege*, *Fort-Knoque*, " and other Places: That to haſten the " Concluſion of a General Peace, a Con- " greſs ſhall begin at the *Hague* *Ju-* " *ly* 15".

The Plenipotentiaries of the Allies having ſigned theſe Preliminaries, thoſe of *France* declared, they had no Directions to ſign

The *French* refuſe to ſign the Preliminaries.

ſign them: However, the Marquis *de Torcy* ſaid, he would lay them before his Maſter the moſt Chriſtian King, and endeavour to procure his Ratification; and that he would acquaint Prince *Eugene* with his Majeſty's Reſolution, by the fourth of next Month. He then ſet out for *France*; from whence he ſent an Anſwer according to his Promiſe: Wherein he told the Prince, That his Majeſty found it impoſſible for him to accept theſe Terms; and therefore had ſent Orders to Monſieur *Rouille*, to notify the ſame to the Potentates engaged in the War; and that it was to be hoped that more favourable Terms would preſent, for the eſtabliſhing a Peace ſo neceſſary for all *Europe*.

And Monſieur *Rouille* accordingly acquainted the Miniſters of the Allies, that unleſs they would agree to ſome Alterations in the Preliminary Articles, his Maſter could not conſent to them: To which the Miniſters of the Allies anſwered, 'That 'they would not recede from any of the 'Articles agreed to; and that, if his Maſ-'ter did not think fit to accept them, nei-'ther would the Allies think themſelves 'bound by them'. And Monſieur *Rouille* immediately received an Intimation, that he ſhould depart from the *Hague*, which he did the ninth of *June* following.

Upon

Upon the Breaking-off of this Treaty, the *French* King ſent Circular Letters to the Governors of the reſpective Provinces in his Dominions, wherein he told them, "That, in order to reſtore Peace, he "would have accepted Conditions very "oppoſite to the Security of his Fron- "tier Provinces; but, that the greater "Deſire he had ſhewn to diſſipate thoſe "Umbrages his Enemies affected to have "of his Power and Deſigns, the more "they multiplied their Pretenſions; and "they had let him ſee, that they had no "other Intention, than to enlarge, at the "Expence of his Crown, the States bor- "dering upon *France*, and to open to "themſelves eaſy Ways, to penetrate into "the Heart of his Kingdom, as often as "it would ſuit with their Intereſts to be- "gin a new War: That they would give "him but two Months, to execute his "Part of the Treaty; and during that "Time they would oblige him to deliver "up the Places they demanded of him "in *Alſace* and the *Low-Countries*, and "the demoliſhing thoſe they had inſiſted "on; refuſing on their Parts to enter "into any other Engagements, than the "Suſpenſion of all Acts of Hoſtility till "the firſt of *Auguſt*; and reſerving to "themſelves a Liberty of acting then by "Force of Arms, if his Grandſon refuſed

The *French* King's Reaſons for breaking off this Treaty.

"to

" to evacuate the *Spaniſh* Dominions,
" whereof he had for nine Years been
" acknowledged King: That ſuch a Suſ-
" penſion would have been more dange-
" rous to him than War itſelf; for ſo ſoon
" as the Suſpenſion had been expired, his
" Enemies would have attacked him under
" thoſe new Advantages they would have
" reaped from the Towns into which he
" himſelf had introduced them. And he
" expreſſes much Reſentment, that the
" Confederates ſhould ſuggeſt to him the
" joining his Forces with theirs, to com-
" pel his Grandſon to deſcend the *Spaniſh*
" Throne. He ſaid, The Thought of
" engaging him in ſuch an Alliance, was
" inhuman: And although the Tender-
" neſs he had for his People was as hearty
" as for his own Children; and though
" he bore a Part in all the Ills his faith-
" ful Subjects underwent by the War,
" and had manifeſted to all *Europe* his
" ſincere Deſires that they might enjoy
" Peace; he was ſatisfied they would
" themſelves oppoſe the Acceptance of it,
" on Conditions ſo oppoſite to Juſtice and
" the Honour of the *French* Nation".

As fruitleſs as theſe Negotiations were in reſpect to the ſeveral Nations engaged in the preſent War, there is no doubt to be made but ſome Stateſman on both Sides gained

gained their Ends. There were ſome Miniſters on the Part of the Allies, it is ſaid, that dreaded nothing more than Peace; and theſe found their Account in inſiſting on ſuch Terms as they knew would never be granted. On the other hand, *France*, that was reduced to the utmoſt Diſtreſs by Famine, and a rigorous Winter that followed it, and ſaw at the ſame Time ſo formidable a Power on her Frontiers, gained her Ends by granting one Demand after another, till ſhe had ſpun out the Time to almoſt the Middle of Summer; whereby ſhe had an Opportunity of recruiting her broken Troops, and repleniſhing her exhauſted Stores: And then ſhe gave the Allies to underſtand, That the Grand Monarch was not yet fallen ſo low, as to ſubmit to theſe hard Preliminaries.

The Campaign in 1709.

But whatever were the Views of *France*, or of ſome deſigning Stateſmen among the Allies, the *French* Miniſters were no ſooner returned, but both Armies prepared to take the Field. The *French* poſſeſſed themſelves of a Camp naturally ſtrong, and threw up ſuch Intrenchments, that the Allies did not think fit to attack them; but reſolved to open the Campaign with the Siege of *Tournay*: And accordingly that Place was inveſted by the Confederate Troops the 27th of *June*, N. S. On the

Tournay beſieged, and taken.

7th of *July* the Trenches were opened, and on the 30th the Town ſurrendered, and the Garriſon marched into the Citadel; which held out till the 3d of *September*, and then ſurrendered.

Tournay being reduced, the Allies reſolved upon the Siege of *Mons*; but Marſhal *Villars*, having poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſtrong Camp of *Blaregnies* or *Malplaquet*, in the Woods of *Sart* and *Sanſart*, it was found impracticable to form the Siege until the *French* were driven from that Poſt: Whereupon happened the bloodieſt Battle that ever was fought in *Flanders*.

The Battle of *Blaregnies* or *Malplaquet*.

It was, in reality, a Battle between two Armies of a Side; Prince *Eugene* commanded a complete Army of fifty thouſand Men, with Wings of Horſe on the Right and Left; and the Duke of *Marlborough* another entire Army, of which the *Engliſh* formed the Right, and the *Dutch* the Left; while Marſhal *Villars* commanded a ſeparate Army of the *French* on the Left, drawn up againſt that of Prince *Eugene*; and Marſhal *Boufflers* another upon the Right, which engaged that under the Command of the Duke of *Marlborough*. Theſe great Armies lay near each other ſeveral Days; and, on the 9th of *September*, the Enemies poſſeſſed themſelves of the Woods of *Sart* and

and *Sanſart*, where they cut down Trees, erected Batteries, and threw up Intrenchments for their Defence. The ſame Day, and the next, the Armies on both Sides were drawn up in Order of Battle; and the 10th, in the Evening, the Generals of the Allies reſolved to attack the *French*. Accordingly, on the 11th of *September* at Break of Day, the Infantry of the Allies marched in three Lines, and the Cavalry in two Columns, advancing directly towards the Enemy, who were ſo ſtrongly intrenched, that their Works looked more like a Citadel than a Camp. The fortified Camp of the Enemy.

'Their Left 'Wing, as a certain General relates, was 'covered by a great and thick Wood, in which 'they had caſt up many Intrenchments, 'and poſted their Infantry; and their 'Right was covered by another Wood 'and thick Hedge, which run along the 'ſame like a Chain; and beſides, they 'had caſt up three Intrenchments, and 'had a marſhy Ground before them, 'which rendered the Acceſs to their In'trenchments ſtill more difficult. Their 'Center was in a little Plain, where they 'had caſt up ſeveral Intrenchments alſo, 'one behind the other, all defended in 'convenient Places with a good Artillery, 'which annoyed us very much. They 'had beſides cut down the Hedges behind 'their Lines, for the more eaſy marching An Account of the Battle by one of the Generals.

‘ of their Cavalry, to ſupport their In-
‘ fantry wherever Occaſion ſhould require.
‘ In this advantageous Situation we attack-
‘ ed the Enemy, and began to cannonade
‘ them about half an Hour paſt eight, and
‘ they anſwered us with the like Vigour;
‘ while all our Forces marched to begin
‘ the Attack as the Generals had directed.
‘ The Left Wing of Prince *Eugene*'s
‘ Army attacked the Enemy in the Wood
‘ aforeſaid, about that Time, with all ima-
‘ ginable Vigour; but were received with
‘ a great deal of Bravery. We beat the
‘ Enemy from that Poſt, and they beat
‘ us again from thence: But, after an ob-
‘ ſtinate Fight of two Hours, in which
‘ abundance of Blood was ſhed on both
‘ Sides, the Soldiers killing one another
‘ with their Bayonets and the Buts of
‘ their Muskets, we made ourſelves Maſ-
‘ ters of the Wood; and thereupon our
‘ whole Left Wing marched, without any
‘ Loſs of Time, towards the Enemy, and
‘ began another Fight as obſtinate as the
‘ firſt Attack. As they were covered by
‘ three ſtrong Intrenchments, which we
‘ were obliged to attack one after another,
‘ the Fight continued five Hours with an
‘ incredible Fury; but all this while with
‘ doubtful Succeſs, becauſe the Enemy
‘ rallied ſeveral Times, regaining with an
‘ extraordinary Valour the Entrenchments

‘ from

'from whence we had beaten them: During which, they attempted ſeveral Times to drive us from the Wood we had gained; but we maintained our Ground, and beat them from all their Intrenchments. It was about that Time, that their Cavalry, which was drawn up in ſeveral Lines, ſeeing that their Infantry was beaten from their Poſt, advanced in very good Order to charge our Cavalry, and regain the Intrenchments wherein we had taken Poſt; and this new Fight proved very obſtinate: They forced us ſometimes to give Ground, and were forced, in their Turn, to give Way. The Action became then more general; and ſome Squadrons of the Right Wing of my Lord Duke's Army being repulſed by the great Number of the Enemy, the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, with ſome *Daniſh* and other Squadrons of Prince *Eugene*'s Army, advanced to ſupport them. The *French* Cavalry, being thus vigorouſly attacked, fell ſoon into Diſorder, and were ſo much preſſed, that they could not rally again: They endeavoured to do it behind a Hedge; but the Duke of *Wirtemberg* cauſed immediately the Dragoons of *Wirtemberg-Ooels* to diſmount, to attack the Enemy on Foot behind the Hedge aforeſaid, from which they were driven, and they

'did not form again into any Order till 'they came behind a little Hill, at a 'pretty Diſtance from us, having behind 'them the little Town of *Bavay*, and a 'Moraſs and a Defile before: And their 'Infantry, by Favour of the Hedges and 'Woods, made, for the moſt part, their 'Retreat that Way, and formed them-'ſelves again near their Cavalry. The 'Defile and Moraſs aforeſaid did not 'permit us to purſue them farther in a 'Body; but two Regiments of Huſſars, 'and ſome Squadrons of Horſe and Dra-'goons, were detach'd to annoy them as 'much as poſſible in their Retreat. The 'Battle ended about Four in the After-'noon'.

The Numbers killed and wounded.

In this Battle, according to the Accounts of the Allies, they had 5,547 Men killed, and 12,806 wounded; in all, upwards of 18,000; and, on the *French* Side, there were, according to the Allies, about 15,000 killed and wounded: And it is very natural to believe, that the Allies loſt more Men than the Enemy, ſince they were cut down from Morning till Noon, by the great and ſmall Shot of the Enemy, before they became Maſters of their Intrenchments; and, after ſo hot an Action, it is no wonder they did not purſue the Enemy above three

three Miles from the Field of Battle. They took about forty or fifty of the Enemy's Cannon in the Intrenchments, fifty Colours and Standards, and ſome thouſands of wounded Officers and Soldiers were made Priſoners. Prince *Eugene* received a ſlight Wound in the Head in this Engagement, which did not, however, hinder him from giving his Orders during the whole Action.

Mons taken.

After the Victory of *Malplaquet* or *Blaregnies*, the Allies marched towards *Mons*; and, having inveſted that City the 21ſt Inſtant, it ſurrendered the 20th of *October* following; which finiſhed the Campaign in *Flanders*; and both Armies thereupon went into Winter-Quarters.

There was not any Thing done remarkable this Year on the *Rhine*, in *Savoy*, or in *Portugal*; and the moſt conſiderable Action in *Spain* was the Blowing-up of the Caſtle of *Alicant*. I proceed therefore to the Negotiations of Peace in the following Winter. The *French* King propoſed again to the States, by Monſieur *Petticum*, the Renewing the Treaty, on the Foot of the Preliminaries before-mentioned; only he would not be obliged to compel his Grandſon King PHILIP to quit the Throne of *Spain*. But the Allies ſtill inſiſted on his yielding up the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy, within the Space of two

The *French* make further Overtures.

Which are rejected.

Months. The *Dutch*, it ſeems, were now of Opinion, that all Overtures, ſhort of this, ought to be rejected; and thereupon wrote a Letter to Her Majeſty, to incite her to continue the War, and augment her Forces next Campaign; promiſing to do the like on their Part, and hoping her Majeſty would preſs the reſt of the Confederates to imitate them. They alſo deſired Her Majeſty, to ſend over the Duke of *Marlborough* betimes, if poſſible before the End of *February*; that they might have the Benefit of the wiſe Counſel of that great General, in concerting, in due Time, the Operations of the Campaign; and reap the Advantages of his incomparable Valour, in the Execution thereof.

The Queen's Letter to the Diet of the Empire to induce their Principals to exert themſelves.

Thus did the *Dutch* compliment our Favourite Miniſter, General, and Plenipotentiary: And the Queen was thereupon induced to write a Letter to the Diet of the Empire; wherein ſhe deſires them to obſerve the Enemy's obſtinate and irreconcileable Spirit; and that nothing was further from his Thoughts than Peace, as appeared by the Artifices with which he endeavoured to amuſe the Allies: That he raiſed Recruits, augmented his Forces, and erected great Magazines; from whence it appeared, that Peace was not to be obtained but by a Continuation of the War: That there was a Neceſſity therefore, that the

the Allies ſhould make their utmoſt Efforts, and have a greater Number of Troops than they had at preſent: That Her Majeſty had not neglected, as often as the publlc Welfare ſeem'd to require it, to augment her Troops beyond her Quota, and to expend vaſt Sums of Money; and now, when they were like to reap the Fruits of their Victories, ſhe was ſtill ready to increaſe her Forces to the utmoſt of her Power, that the reſt of the Allies might be incited, by the Example of *Great-Britain*, to augment their Troops beyond what had been hitherto done: Whereupon ſhe repeated her Inſtances to that illuſtrious Council of the Empire, That they would exhort all the Electors, Princes, and States, to make great Efforts, that there might be a powerful Army on the *Upper Rhine*, not only to cover the Frontiers of the Empire, but to extend the ſame, that *France* might not be in a Condition to carry the whole Weight of the War into *Flanders:* Adding, That if every one would furniſh his Quota of Troops in Time, the Confederate Forces would be ſo conſiderable and numerous, that there was no Reaſon to doubt, but with God's Bleſſing, they ſhould pull down the Spirit of that proud Enemy, and force him at laſt to conſent to the Peace (which he had hitherto haughtily rejected) upon

ſuch

ſuch Conditions as might for ever ſecure the Repoſe and Tranquillity of *Europe*.

At the Beginning of the next Year, however, the Negotiations were reſumed. The vigorous Reſolutions taken in *Great Britain* and *Holland*, for the Proſecution of the War, occaſioned the Marquis *de Torcy* to ſend freſh Propoſals from his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, wherein the former Preliminaries were to be the Foundation of a new Treaty. Purſuant hereto, the States-General having granted Paſſes to the *French* Plenipotentiaries, the Marſhal *d'Uxelles*, and the Abbot *de Polignac*, to come to *Gertruydenburg* in *Holland*; the *Britiſh* Houſe of Peers addreſſed Her Majeſty, on the 18th of *February*, to ſend the Duke of *Marlborough* over to *Holland*, to take Care of the Intereſts of *Great Britain*. Accordingly his Grace, having received Her Majeſty's Command, ſet out for *Holland* the next Day, and arrived there the latter End of the Month.

The Negotiations at *Gertruydenburgh*.

The *French* Miniſters were met at *Gertruydenburgh* by Meſſieurs *Buys* and *Vanderduſſen*, the Plenipotentiaries of the States, the Beginning of *March*, who, having heard what the *French* had to offer, returned to the *Hague*, and made their Report to the Duke of *Marlborough*, Count *Zinzendorf* the Emperor's Miniſter, and the reſt of the Miniſters of the Allies

lies reſiding there. They ſaid, That the *French* Miniſters had endeavoured to perſuade them, That it was the Intereſt of the Allies to make Peace with *France*, excluſive of *Spain*; and that the *French* King was willing to enter into the moſt ſolemn Engagements (*and give cautionary Towns for the Performance*) that he would not give any Aſſiſtance to his Grandſon *Philip*.

Sicily and *Sardinia* only demanded for King PHILIP.

The *Dutch* Miniſters had ſeveral Conferences afterwards with the *French*, who propoſed a Partition of the *Spaniſh* Territories; but came at length ſo low in their Demands, that they offered to accept of *Sicily* and *Sardinia:* And though their King could not in Honour and Conſcience make War upon his Grandſon, and drive him from the Throne on which he had placed him; yet, they ſaid, his Majeſty would perſuade his Grandſon to accept of that Partition; which if he refuſed to conſent to, he would furniſh a Sum of Money towards the Charges of the War, to be continued till the Surrender of *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* to the Houſe of *Auſtria*. But the *Dutch*, ſtill inſiſting that *Spain* and the *Indies*, with all the Territories belonging to them, ſhould be delivered up within the Space of two Months, according to the Preliminaries, the Conferences were broken off.

The Conferences broken off.

'It

Some Remarks on them.

'It is obſervable, ſays *Salmon**, that this 'Treaty was manag'd only by the *French* 'and *Dutch* Miniſters, the reſt of the Allies 'contenting themſelves with the Report 'the *Dutch* were pleaſed to make of theſe 'Conferences. As for the Duke of *Marl-* 'borough, he had left his Reſolutions with 'the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Miniſters at the 'Hague, and was gone into the Field. 'He had now ſuch an Aſcendant over 'the *Dutch*, that he had no need to doubt 'their Fidelity to him: But, it is ſaid, 'both the Emperor's and the King of '*Pruſſia*'s Miniſters were for accepting 'the Terms offered by the *French*, if thoſe 'of *Great Britain* and the States would 'have been prevailed on to acquieſce in 'them. But however that was, Marſhal 'd' *Uxelles* and the Abbot *de Polignac* made 'heavy Complaints in a Letter to the Pen- 'ſionary *Henſius*, that the *Dutch* Depu- 'ties had miſrepreſented theſe Conferences: 'To which the *Dutch* ſent no Anſwer. 'But from the Relations of both Sides it 'appears, That the *French* King had 'agreed to acknowledge King CHARLES; 'and that he would not only not aſſiſt 'his Grandſon, but would contribute a 'Sum of Money towards compelling him 'to quit the *Spaniſh* Throne, if he re-

* Modern Hiſtory, *Vol.* XXVI. *p.* 93.

'fuſed

'fuſed to do it at his Inſtance; and that 'he would deliver four ſtrong Towns in 'the *Netherlands* to the Allies, as a Secu-'rity for what he ſtipulated: And as to 'all the other Preliminary Articles, ſuch 'as acknowledging the Queen; the Bar-'rier demanded for the Empire, *Holland*, 'the Duke of *Savoy*, &c. theſe he made 'no Scruple of granting. And after this, 'will it not be difficult to aſſign a ſub-'ſtantial Reaſon for continuing this bloody 'War?

'How long would *Spain* have been 'able to have reſiſted the United Arms 'of the Allies, without the Aſſiſtance of '*France*, if it could be ſuppoſed that 'King PHILIP would have refuſed to 'comply with what his Grandfather had 'ſtipulated for him, and thereby hazarded 'loſing even *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, as well 'as his other Dominions? The Towns 'that were agreed to be delivered up to 'the Emperor and the *Dutch*, would have 'required ſome Years to conquer: And 'had the *French* been never ſo inſincere, 'as was pretended, the Allies would have 'gained ſuch an Addition of Strength by 'them, as would have rendered *France* 'much leſs formidable than it was then. 'Let it be conſidered farther, had it been 'our own Caſe, and the Fortune of the 'War had reduced us to the Neceſſity of

'aban-

'abandoning King CHARLES, and the 'French King had inſiſted, that the Al-'lies ſhould not only not aſſiſt him, but 'turn their Arms againſt the Prince they 'had ſet up; would it not have been 'thought a moſt extravagant Demand? 'And if it would, was it not much more 'unreaſonable to deſire the *French* King 'to enter into a War with King PHILIP, 'to whom he was ſo nearly allied by the 'Ties of Blood, as well as other Engage-'ments?

'We had, indeed, ſo long talked of 'the boundleſs Ambition and exorbitant 'Power of *France*, that we affected to 'have a Dread of it, even after that King-'dom was reduced ſo low, that our Ge-'nerals gave out, they could not make 'Head againſt us another Year.

'Every Propoſal, that was ſaid to come 'from *France*, was ſtill condemned as un-'reaſonable, before it was examined; and, 'if the Reaſonableneſs of it was ſo con-'ſpicuous, that it could not be denied, 'then were we taught to exlaim againſt 'their Inſincerity.

'In ſhort, ſome of the Powers, en-'gaged in the Grand Alliance, were ſuch 'Gainers by the War, the whole Charge 'whereof was borne by their Neighbours, 'whoſe Miniſters were in their Intereſt, 'that any Peace whatever muſt have been

'to

'to their Diſadvantage; and therefore it
'is not to be thought ſtrange, if they
'talk'd loudly of the Enemy's Inſincerity,
'and rejected all their Propoſals. The
'daily Acquiſition of new Dominions, at
'the Expence of others, poſſibly, put
'ſuch a Biaſs on their Judgments, that
'they might, in ſome meaſure, believe
'what they affirmed. We have ſeen whole
'Nations ſubmit their Underſtandings,
'and even reſign their paternal Eſtates, to
'graſp a Shadow: The very Appearance
'of Gain has diſtracted the Wiſeſt; and
'it is no wonder, if real Acquiſitions have
'had the ſame Effect on others.'

Campaign of 1710.

I ſhall be very brief in my Account of the following Campaigns, till the Concluſion of a general Peace. In 1710 the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene* took the Field, while the Conferences were carrying on at *Gertruydenburgh*. They reduced this Year, at a great Expence of Men and Treaſure, the Towns of *Douay*, *Aire*, *Bethune*, and *St. Venant*; the two firſt of which are Places of Note. The Army on the *Rhine* did nothing but cover the Frontiers; and the Elector of *Hanover*, who commanded it, finding there was no Honour to be gained, reſigned his Commiſſion. The Duke of *Savoy* was alſo quiet on the Side of *Dauphiné*:

So

So that the principal Seat of Action this Year, was *Spain*. Here King CHARLES, being re-inforced from *Italy*, attacked his Rival near *Almanara*, and routed his Cavalry; but it being late when the Engagement began, the Foot retired by the Favour of the Night. Soon after he obtained a complete Victory near *Saragoſſa*, which immediately opened her Gates to the Victor, who the next Month entered *Madrid* in Triumph. But the latter End of the Year was unfortunate to the *Engliſh* Forces, under General *Stanhope*, who were ſurprized near *Brihuega* by King PHILIP's Army, and made Priſoners with their General. Count *Staremberg* indeed, who commanded the reſt of the Allies, was the very next Day revenged on the *Spaniards*, by giving them a Defeat at *Villa Vicioſa*. But tho' he got a great deal of Honour in the Action, he was unable to proſecute the Victory to Advantage. In a Word, King CHARLES was obliged to abandon *Madrid*, and the Year was rather unſucceſsful to him than otherwiſe.

Of 1711 and 1712.

In the Year 1711, the Duke of *Marlborough*'s laſt Campaign, the only Action in *Flanders* was his Entering the *French* Lines, and taking the Town of *Bouchain*, which was retaken the next Year. Nothing was done on the *Rhine*, or in *Catalonia*. Sir *Hovenden Walker*'s Enterprize

prize on *Canada* came to nought. And in 1712, when the Duke of *Ormond* commanded, Negotiations of Peace were openly carrying on, and he was abſolutely forbid to act offenſively againſt the *French*. This leads us to the Conſideration of the Steps that had been previouſly taken on both Sides, in order to an Accommodation; which have hitherto been greatly miſrepreſented.

Steps taken by the Miniſtry.

Mr. *Harley* and Mr. St. *John*, long before they were advanced to the Head of the Miniſtry, had entertained Thoughts of putting an End to the War, and thereby recommending themſelves to the Queen and the Nation. They had privately treated with ſome Agents of *France*, particularly Mr. *St. John* with the Sieur *Gualtier*, a *French* Prieſt, who for ſome Time was protected by Count *Gallas*, and afterwards employed by Count *Tallard*, then a Priſoner at *Nottingham*, to forward Letters between him and his Court. But in 1710, when theſe Gentlemen were brought into full Play, a Paper called *The Examiner* was immediately ſet up under their Influence, and conducted by Mr. PRIOR, Dr. *Swift*, Dr. *Freind*, Mrs. *Manley*, Mr. *Oldſworth*, and ſome others; the Deſign of which was to aggravate the Faults of the late Miniſtry, to repreſent them as Enemies to the Church

and Conſtitution, Men who delighted in War, and to recommend an immediate Pacification, which indeed at that Time began to be much wiſhed for. All the Wit, Raillery, and even Invective that theſe great Men were Maſters of, was employed on this Occaſion: And it had in general the deſired Effect, ſo far as to ſecure the public Voice in their Favour. It muſt be confeſſed, that by artfully blending together the Words *Church*, *Queen*, *Loyalty*, *Peace*, on the one Side, and *Whig*, *Junto*, *Republican*, *Faction*, on the other, they had the Addreſs to carry every thing before them, and to involve all the Friends of the late Miniſtry in their Accuſation. We have already taken notice what was the Subſtance of this Charge, eſpecially with regard to the Prolongation of the War; and the Reader may ſee more of it in the following Letter to the *Examiner*, which is prefixed to the Collection of thoſe Papers, and writ by Mr. *St. John*, afterwards Lord *Bolingbroke*.

Mr. *St. John*'s Letter to the *Examiner*.

SIR,

'WHEN I read the Introduction to your Paper, it was great Satisfaction for me to find, that Somebody had undertaken to furniſh Mankind with a Weekly Antidote to that Weekly Poiſon,

'ſon, which by the Preſident and inferior 'Members of a Factious Cabal, is ſo pro-'fuſely ſcattered thro' the Nation.

'You have ſufficiently expoſed the * 'Letter which you choſe to begin your 'Examinations with. How little of that 'Probability, which ought to be carried 'through the whole Thread of a well-in-'vented Fable, appears in it! How little 'Regard is paid to that Juſtneſs and Pro-'priety of Character, without which 'Compoſitions of this Kind are as mon-'ſtrous, as that Government muſt be, 'where Submiſſion is made the Duty of 'the Prince, and Dominion the Preroga-'tive of the Subject?

'But ſuch is the ſingular Modeſty of that 'Faction, which the Miniſters of the 'Crown have, with ſo much Advantage 'to themſelves, nurs'd up, in Oppoſition 'to the Crown; that you muſt expect 'to have the ſame Arguments ſtill pur-'ſued. The *Obſervator*, the *Review*, 'the † *Cenſor* of *Great Britain*, who re-'ſembles the famous Cenſor of *Rome* in 'nothing, but eſpouſing the Cauſe of the 'Vanquiſhed, with the Croud of Hireling 'Scribblers, will hope, by a few falſe Co-'lours, and a great many impudent Aſ-'ſertions, at laſt to perſuade the People,

* Mr. *Petticum*'s Letter. See the *Examiner*.
† The *Tatler*.

'that the General, the *quondam* Treaſure, 'and the Junto, are the only Objects of 'the Confidence of the Allies, and of the 'Fears of the Enemies: For the Queen, 'and the whole Body of the *Britiſh* Na-'tion——*Nos numerus ſumus.*

'Surely therefore, the Argument which 'you have undertaken, ſhould be carried 'further. Allow that the *French* have 'recovered Heart, that they riſe in their 'Demands, that the Conferences at *Ger-'truydenburgh* were broke off by them, 'whilſt our Plenipotentiaries did all that 'poſſibly could be done to obtain a ſafe 'and honourable Peace: Allow, I ſay, all 'this; not becauſe it is true, for the con-'trary ſhall one Time or other be made 'out to the World, when the true State 'of our preſent Condition will be ſet in 'a clearer Light; yet that Odium which 'the Miniſters and their Faction endea-'vour to throw on the Queen, and on 'thoſe who have appeared at Her Call, and 'in Her Defence, will with more Juſtice 'be laid at their own Door.

'Paint, Sir, with that Force which 'you are Maſter of, the preſent State of 'the War abroad, and expoſe to public 'View thoſe Principles, upon which, of 'late, it has been carried on, ſo different 'from thoſe, upon which it was originally 'entered into. Collect ſome few of the

'Indignities

'Indignities which have been this Year 'offered to Her Majeſty, and of thoſe 'unnatural Struggles, which have betray'd 'the Weakneſs of a ſhatter'd Conſtitu-'tion: And when this is done, *D——n* 'ſhall bluſh in his Grave among the Dead, '*W——le* among the Living, and even '*Vol—ne* ſhall feel ſome Remorſe.

'Forgive me, Sir, if in that Warmth 'which theſe Reflections occaſion, I an-'ticipate in ſome Meaſure the Subject, 'and encroach on the Province which 'belongs to you.

'To reſtore the *Spaniſh* Monarchy to 'the Houſe of *Auſtria*, who by their 'own Supineneſs, and the Perfidy of the '*French*, had loſt it; and to regain a Bar-'rier for *Holland*, which lay naked and 'open to the Inſults of *France*; were the 'wiſe and generous Motives, which en-'gaged *Britain* in the preſent War. We 'engaged as Confederates, but we have 'been made to proceed as Principals: 'Principals in Expence of Blood and Trea-'ſure, whilſt hardly a ſecond Place in Re-'ſpect and Dignity is allowed to us.

'In the Year 1706, the laſt of theſe 'two Motives was effectually anſwered by 'the Reduction of the *Netherlands*; or 'might have been ſo, by the Conceſſions, 'which it is notorious that the Enemy 'offered. But the firſt Motive remained

'ſtill in its full Force; and we were told,
'that though the Barrier of *Holland* was
'ſecured, the Trade of *Britain*, and the
'Ballance of Power in *Europe*, would be
'ſtill precarious. *Spain* therefore was to
'be conquered, before we laid down our
'Arms, and we were made to expect,
'that the whole Attention of our Miniſ-
'ters would be applied to that Part of the
'War. Like Men of reſigned Under-
'ſtandings, we acquieſced, and flattered
'ourſelves, That ſince *Holland* had been
'ſecured in the firſt Place, *Britain* would
'be taken care of in the ſecond. But
'alas! theſe Expectations, like many
'others, have failed us.

'From that Point of Time to this
'Hour, *France* has continued like a great
'Town, inveſted indeed on every Part, but
'attacked only in one. In *Spain*, in *Savoy*,
'on the *Rhine*, enough, and but juſt
'enough has been done, to ſerve as a Pre-
'tence for Eſtimates, and Demands of
'Supplies: But nothing deciſive, nothing
'which had the Appearance of Earneſt,
'has been ſo much as attempted, except
'that wiſe Expedition to *Toulon*, which
'we ſuffered to be defeated, before it
'began. The whole Streſs of the War
'has been wantonly laid, where *France*
'is beſt able to keep us at Bay; as if we
'fought only to make Oſtentation of our

'Valour,

'Valour, and of our Riches. Towns 'have been taken, and Battles have been 'won; the Mob has huzza'd round Bon-'fires; the *Stentor* of the Chapel has 'ſtrained his Throat in the Gallery, and 'the *Stentor* of *Sarum* has deaffened his 'Audience from the Pulpit. In the mean 'while, the *French* King has withdrawn 'Troops from *Spain*, and has put it out 'of his Power to reſtore that Monarchy 'to us, was he reduced low enough really 'to deſire to do it. The Duke of *Anjou* has 'had Leiſure to take off thoſe whom he 'ſuſpected, to confirm his Friends, to re-'gulate his Revenues, to increaſe and 'form his Troops, and above all, to 'rouze that Spirit in the *Spaniſh* Nation, 'which a Succeſſion of lazy and indolent 'Princes had lulled aſleep.

'From hence it appears probable 'enough, that if the War continue much 'longer on the preſent Foot; inſtead of 'regaining *Spain*, we ſhall find the Duke 'of *Anjou* in a Condition to pay the Debt 'of Gratitude, and ſupport the Grand-'father in his declining Years, by whoſe 'Arms, in the Days of his Infancy, he 'was upheld. The *Dutch* will have a 'larger and a better Country than their 'own, at the Expence of *Britain*, con-'quered for them, by thoſe Miniſters, 'who once thought it impolitic to con-

'ſent, that even *Oſtend* ſhould be made
'a Part of their Barrier. The Emperor
'has already *Bavaria*, the Dutchy of
'*Mantua*, the State of *Milan*; and the
'Kingdom of *Naples*, *Sicily*, and ſome
'other Places dependent on theſe, may
'be added to his Portion; and by the lit-
'tle Care he now takes to ſupport King
'CHARLES, we may eaſily judge how
'great his Concern will be, if that Prince
'ſhould be deprived of all the reſt.

'*Britain* may expect to remain exhauſ-
'ted of Men and Money, to ſee her Trade
'divided amongſt her Neighbours, her Re-
'venues anticipated even to future Gene-
'rations, and to have this only Glory left
'Her, that ſhe has proved a Farm to the
'Bank, a Province to *Holland*, and a Jeſt
'to the whole World.

'If the Facts I have mentioned are
'true, and the Conſequences I have
'drawn from them, are naturally deduci-
'ble from ſuch Cauſes, may not the King
'of *France* reaſonably hope, tho' *Holland*
'ſhould be aggrandized, that *Britain* will
'be in proportion weakened? May he not
'hope, in exchange for a few Towns,
'which he either bought or ſtole in
'former Wars, to ſecure the *Spaniſh* Mo-
'narchy to the Houſe of *Bourbon* for ever,
'by happily concluding this?

'Let

'Let us now ſurvey the preſent State of
'our domeſtic Affairs, and examine whe-
'ther from the Conduct of the Miniſtry,
'and of the factious Whigs, the *French*
'King has not good Grounds to expect to
'ſee us in Confuſion, and by Conſequence
'the great Band of the Confederacy diſ-
'ſolved.

'Domeſtic Occurrences, the more they
'are examined, the greater Weight will
'they add to the ſame Argument.

'You have, in your ſecond Paper,
'pointed out ſome few of thoſe innume-
'rable Obligations, which the Whigs
'have laid on the *French* King. When-
'ever you think fit to go to the Bottom
'of the Subject, I make no doubt but it
'will evidently appear, that LEWIS XIV.
'has Reaſon enough to hope for Succeſs
'from the Meaſures taken by the Miniſ-
'ters, and their Faction at home; as I
'have already ſhewn, that he has from
'the Conduct of the War abroad.

'Notwithſtanding all the Pains which
'have been taken to leſſen Her Character
'in the World, by the Wits of the *Kit-*
'*Kat*, and the Sages of the Cellar; Man-
'kind remains convinced, that a Queen
'poſſeſſed of all the Virtues requiſite to
'bleſs a Nation, or to make a private Fa-
'mily happy, ſits on the Throne.

'By

'By an Exceſs of Goodneſs ſhe delight-
'ed to raiſe ſome of Her Servants to the
'higheſt Degree of Riches, of Power,
'and of Honour; and in this only Inſtance
'can be ſaid to have grieved any of Her
'Subjects.

'The Rule which ſhe had preſcribed to
'theſe Perſons, as the Meaſure of their
'Conduct, was ſoon departed from. But
'ſo unable were they to aſſociate with Men
'of honeſter Principles than themſelves,
'that the Sovereign Authority was parcel-
'led out among a Faction, and made the
'Purchaſe of Indemnity for an offending
'Miniſter. Inſtead of the mild Influences
'of a gracious Queen governing by Law;
'we ſoon felt the miſerable Conſequences
'of Subjection to the Will of an arbitrary
'Junto, and to the Caprice of an inſolent
'Woman.

'Unhappy Nation, which expecting to
'be governed by the Beſt, fell under the
'Tyranny of the Worſt of her Sex! But
'now, Thanks be to God, that Fury,
'who broke loſe to execute the Vengeance
'of Heaven on a ſinful People, is reſtrain'd,
'and the Royal Hand is already reached
'out to chain up the Plague.

Inviſum numen terras cælumque levabit.

'One

'One would expect, that on the firſt 'Appearance of the Queen's Diſpleaſure, 'theſe little Tyrants ſhould have had Re-'courſe to Submiſſion, and to Reſignation. 'But they believed the whole Nation as 'debauched and corrupted, as thoſe pro-'fligate Wretches, who were in their Con-'fidence; they imagined, that under the 'Name of their Prince, they ſhould be 'able to govern againſt her declared In-'tention; and having uſurped the Royal 'Seat, reſolved to venture overturning the 'Chariot of Government, rather than to 'loſe their Place in it. They ſet their 'Miſtreſs at open Defiance, neither the 'Ties of Gratitude, nor the Bands of Al-'legiance, were any Reſtraint to them.

'Their firſt Attempt was to take that 'Privilege from Her, which the Meaneſt 'of Her Subjects enjoy, and Slavery was 'to purſue Her even into Her Bed-chamber.

'Here the Nation in general took the 'Alarm; a Spirit of Loyalty began to riſe, 'which the Faction foreſaw would no 'longer bear to have the meaneſt Sub-'miſſion ſhewn to the Miniſters, whilſt 'common Decency was hardly uſed to-'wards the Throne. The Conſpirators 'reſolved therefore to precipitate their 'Meaſures, and a Sermon was made the 'Pretence of their Clamour. Thoſe who 'prove themſelves Friends to this Govern-

'ment

'vernment by avowing Principles incon-
'ſiſtent with any, preſumed daily to try
'the Title of the Queen, and to limit the
'Allegiance of the Subject. The Party-
'Agents of every Rank were employed to
'declaim in public Places, and we had the
'Mortification to ſee Cabals of Upſtarts,
'ſit in Judgment on the Right and Au-
'thority of the Crown, who, had it not
'been for the Profuſion of Royal Favour,
'could have had no Pretence to be com-
'mon Triers in any Cauſe.

'By long inſipid Harangues and fulſome
'Panegyric, the Merits of the Miniſters
'were exalted: The whole Succeſs of the
'Adminiſtration, both at Home and A-
'broad, was ſingly attributed to them;
'and leſt the Queen ſhould think fit to
'declare them dangerous, ſhe was by ne-
'ceſſary Conſequence from the Poſitions
'laid down, declared Herſelf to be uſe-
'leſs.

'This Attempt had likewiſe an Effect,
'contrary to what the Projectors of it ex-
'pected. The Ferment, inſtead of abat-
'ing, increaſed; the Bulk of the Nobility,
'Gentry, Clergy, and Commonalty of
'*Britain* declared themſelves loudly in the
'Cauſe of their Prince; and thoſe Diſ-
'orders which the Faction had raiſed for

'their

'their Security, threatened their Deſtruc-
'tion.

'Not daunted yet, they reſolve to try
'a new Expedient; and the Intereſt of
'*Europe* is to be repreſented as inſeparable
'from that of the Miniſters.

——*Haud dubitant equidem implorare*
quod uſquam eſt;
Flectere ſi nequeunt ſuperos, Acheronta
movebunt.

'The Members of the Bank, the *Dutch*,
'and the Court of *Vienna*, are called in
'as Confederates to the Miniſtry; and ſuch
'an Indignity is offered to the Crown, as
'no Man, who has the Honour of his
'Country at Heart, can with Patience
'hear.

'What a Weakneſs in our Conſtitution,
'what a Sickneſs at Heart do theſe Symp-
'toms, which appear too openly, diſ-
'cover?

'Theſe are Signs which ſhew a Go-
'vernment to be near its Diſſolution:
'Theſe are Things which juſtly give En-
'couragement to an Enemy. And if you
'would go to the Root of our Diſtemper,
'theſe are the Topics you muſt inſiſt upon,
'as the real Cauſes which have prolonged
'the War, diſtracted the Nation, and
'given

'given *France* Spirit enough at laſt to 'break off the Peace.

'And theſe are the Things, Sir, that 'deſerve to paſs under your Pen, that the 'Nation may be truly informed from what 'Springs our own Grievances, and the 'Hopes of our Enemies, have riſen'.

Mr. PRIOR is ſuppoſed to have been the Author of many of the beſt *Examiners*, which are not particularly diſtinguiſhed: But the following Criticiſm upon a Poem of Dr. *Garth*'s to the Earl of *Godolphin*, is univerſally allowed to be his; as the Anſwer which follows, taken from the *Whig Examiner*, is well known to be Mr. *Addiſon*'s, who ſided with the Party in Diſgrace.

EXAMINER.

N° 6. *Thurſday Sept.* 7. 1710.

Mr. PRIOR's Criticiſm of Dr. *Garth*'s Verſes to Lord *Godolphin*.

'THE Collective Body of the Whigs 'have already engroſſed our Rich-'es; and their Repreſentatives, the *Kit-'Cat*, have pretended to make a Mono-'poly of our Senſe. Thus it happens, 'that Mr. *P——r*, by being expelled the 'Club, ceaſes to be a Poet; and Sir '*Harry F——e* becomes one, by being 'admitted into it. 'Tis here that Wit

'and

'and Beauty are decided by Plurality of 'Voices: The Child's Judgment ſhall 'make *H*——*y* paſs for a Fool; and *Ja-* 'cob's Indulgence ſhall preſerve Lady *H*---*t* 'from the Tallow-Candle.

'It is the Misfortune of our *Athens*, like 'that of antient *Greece*, to be governed by 'a Set Number of Tyrants: The Works 'of learned Men are weighed here by the 'unerring Ballance of Party, and he is 'ſure to be moſt ingenious in his Writ- 'ings, who is, in their Phraſe, moſt tho- 'rough-paced in his Politics. *Treelooby* 'kept the general Applauſe for a whole 'Winter; while poor *Phædra* could ſcarce 'get into the Theatre, 'till ſhe had thrown 'herſelf at the Feet of one of theſe *Re-* 'guli. It was in this Mint that a curious 'Piece of poetical Workmanſhip was 'lately wrought, and, by the Maſters of 'the Company, allowed as current and 'authentic Coin. Notwithſtanding which 'Stamp of Authority, a Critic, unknown 'to me, has preſumed to make ſome Ob- 'ſervations upon this Performance; both 'which, I hope Dr. *Bentley* will excuſe 'me for publiſhing, ſince this is ſuch 'Poetry as he has never found among the '*Greek* or *Latin* Writers.

To the Earl of GODOLPHIN.

WHILST weeping *Europe* bends beneath her Ills,
And where the Sword deſtroys not, Famine kills;
Our Iſle enjoys, by your ſucceſsful Care,
The Pomp of Peace amidſt the Woes of War.
So much the Public to your Prudence owes,
You think no Labours long for our Repoſe:
Such Conduct, ſuch Integrity are ſhown,
There are no Coffers empty but your own.
From mean Dependance Merit you receive;
Unask'd you offer, and unſeen you give.
Your Favour, like the *Nile*, Increaſe beſtows,
And yet conceals the Source from whence it flows:
So pois'd your Paſſions are, we find no Frown,
If Funds oppreſs not, and if Commerce run.
Taxes diminiſh'd, Liberty entire,
Thoſe are the Grants your Services require.
Thus far the State-Machine wants no Repair,
But moves in matchleſs Order by your Care:
Free from Confuſion, ſettled and ſerene,
And, like the Univerſe, by Springs unſeen.
But now ſome Star, ſiniſter to our Prayers,
Contrives new Schemes, and calls you from Affairs.
No Anguiſh in your Looks, nor Cares appear,
But how to teach the unpractis'd Crew to Steer.
Thus, like ſome Victim, no Conſtraint you need,
To expiate their Offence, by whom you bleed.

Ingra-

Ingratitude's a Weed in every Clime,
It thrives too fast at first, but fades in Time.
The God of Day, and your own Lot's the same,
The Vapours you have rais'd, obscure your Flame.
But though you suffer, and a while retreat,
Your Globe of Light looks larger as you set.

A Letter to the EXAMINER.

'I SEND you these Verses enclosed, 'which I have read with great Atten- 'tion; and from the Character of the Pa- 'tron, as well as of the Poet, with no 'ordinary Inclination to be pleased. But 'so dull am I, that there does not appear, 'to my Apprehension, either Poetry, 'Grammar, or Design in the Composi- 'tion. The whole seems to be, as the 'sixth Editor of the *Dispensary* happily 'expresses it,

A strong unlabour'd Impotence of Thought!

'If we examine it by the new Test of 'good Poetry, which the Doctor himself 'has established, Pleasing at first Blush, 'has this Piece the least Title even to that? 'Or, if we compare it with the only 'Pattern, as he thinks, of just Writing 'of this Kind, *Ovid*, is there any Thing

'in *De Triſtibus* ſo wild, ſo childiſh, or 'ſo flat?

'What can the ingenious Doctor mean? 'Or at what Time could he write theſe 'Verſes? Half of the Poem is a Panegy-'ric on a Lord-Treaſurer in being; and 'the reſt a Compliment of Condoleance 'to an Earl that has loſt the Staff.

'In thirty Lines his Patron is a River, 'the *Primum Mobile*, a Pilot, a Victim, 'the Sun, any Thing and Nothing. He 'beſtows Increaſe, conceals his Source, 'makes the Machine move, teaches to 'ſteer, expiates our Offences, raiſes Va-'pours, and look larger as he ſets.

'Nor is the Choice of his Expreſſions 'leſs exquiſite, than that of his Similes. '*For Commerce to run, Paſſions to be 'poized, Merit to be* * *retrieved from 'Dependance*, and *a Machine to be Se-'rene*, is perfectly new. The Doctor has 'a happy Talent at Invention, and has 'had the Glory of enriching our Lan-'guage by his Phraſes, as much as he has 'improved Medicine by his Bills.

'But to be more particular——

And where the Sword deſtroys not (ſays our Panegyriſt) *Famine kills.*

'I could wiſh the Verſe would have al-

* It is by Miſtake printed *receive*, *p*, 320. *l*. 12.

'lowed

'lowed of the Word *Plague*, or *Peſti-*
'*lence*; for I ſuppoſe that's what the Au-
'thor means. I have heard of the Plague
'at *Dantzick*; but what Part of *Europe*
'Famine rages in, I know not. Why
'won't *Phyſic* ſtand here? It is better
'Senſe, and runs as well. What the
'*Pomp of Peace* is, I as little compre-
'hend, as how it can be enjoyed amidſt
'the Woes of War.

Such Conduct, ſuch Integrity are ſhown,
There are no Coffers empty but your own.

'Since there is ſo little Poetry in this Cou-
'plet, I wiſh there were more Truth in
'it. Some Coffers, I have heard, were
'empty three Weeks ago; and if they
'are not ſo ſtill, the Nation is more ob-
'liged to the Doctor's unpractiſed Crew,
'than to the experienced Pilot.

Unask'd you offer———

'A great Diſcovery! I always thought till
'now, he that was ask'd might be ſaid
'to give; but not properly to offer. The
'malicious Part of the World will, I
'doubt, be apt to obſerve, That this Sen-
'tence, as it ſtands here, is as true in Fact,
'as it is exact in Language,

Your Favour, like the Nile, *Increaſe beſtows.*

'If the Beauty of the Simile is to be 'judged of by the frequent Uſe which the 'Poets of all Ages have made of it, ſcarce 'any can come in Competition with the 'Doctor's River. The *Nile* on theſe Oc-'caſions is as trite, as the Stories of *Ica-'rus* and *Phaeton*. I remember I uſed it 'when I was about Twelve, in a *New-'Year's-Gift* to my Uncle, and was heart-'ily aſhamed of it a Year after. A School-'Boy can no more miſs the *Nile*, than a '*French* Author, when he dedicates to the 'Grand Monarch, can live without the 'Sun, that other Simile in which the 'Doctor rejoices.

——*Some Stars, ſiniſter to our Prayers, Contrive new Schemes.*

'Alii legunt *Five Stars*; which makes this 'Paſſage intelligible. I have often heard 'Aſtrologers talk of a ſort of Influence 'that Stars have upon human Affairs; 'but I know of no Stars, but thoſe in 'Mr. *Bickerſtaff*'s Conſtellation, that ever 'contrived Schemes; and thoſe too were 'erected under no very benign Aſpect.

'My Lord's Care, he tells us, is to teach 'the unpractiſed Crew to ſteer. By Crew,

'we

'we are to underſtand the Lords of the 'Treaſury. A very civil Expreſſion! But 'as to the Senſe of it: What Affinity is 'there between Crew and Steering? Is 'Steering the Buſineſs of the whole Ship's 'Crew? This is a true Image of the '*Whig-Scheme*, where every Man is his 'own Pilot.

'If we read the two next Lines, we 'ſhall find theſe People have wounded 'him; and yet, like the beſt-natur'd Vic-'tim imaginable, he needs no Conſtraint 'to expiate their Offence. All this is 'what the *French* call *Gallimatias*, and 'what the *Engliſh* Critics term *Nonſenſe*. 'But what follows? *For whom you bleed.* 'Bleed! What, is the Devil in the Doc-'tor, to mention ſuch a Word, and give 'ſo unlucky a Hint? I hoped that this 'Point had been ſo well guarded, that 'there could be no farther need of an Act 'of Security.

The God of Day, and your own Lot's the ſame.

'A hundred Pound for a *Genitive* Caſe! as 'old *Busby* uſed to cry out upon ſuch an 'Occaſion.

'But to go on, from *Grammar* to De-'cency. Of this Happineſs of *Great Bri-'tain*, is any Part aſcribed to the Queen?

'To this Machine, which moves ſo like 'the Univerſe, does the Royal Hand give 'any Turn? Methinks he might at leaſt 'allow Her Majeſty as much as his Friends 'did in the Coronation-Medal.

VICEM GERIT ILLA.

'But, as the Poet obſerves,

Ingratitude's a Weed in every Clime.

'He will give me leave, in my own 'Turn, to obſerve, That in *Don Sebaſtian* 'it is,

Ingratitude's the Growth of every Clime.

'What Occaſion was there of altering a 'Verſe he thought fit to ſteal? This is 'being a meer *Banditti* in Poetry, to rob 'and murder too. But who is to be 'charged with this Ingratitude? The whole 'Body of the Nation did indeed wiſh the 'Treaſurer out; but 'twas Her Majeſty only 'that could diſplace him. Such are the 'Compliments which the Crown receives 'from this Anti-monarchical Academy. 'Excellent Poets, dutiful Subjects!

'I could give you many more Obſer- 'vations upon the Beauties of this ſublime 'Panegyric, if I had my *Longinus* by me.

'It

'It has been corrected, I find, twice or 'thrice already; and if the Author cor-'rects it once more, I am ſo well acquaint-'ed with his lucky Performances that 'Way, that I don't doubt, but I ſhall be 'tempted to write to you again upon the 'ſame Subject. He will not be like 'himſelf, if he does not ſhift his Patron 'as well as his Phraſes; and it won't ſur-'prize me at all, if in the next Edition 'the Poem ſhould come out inſcribed to 'the late Treaſurer of *Ireland.*

'But I believe by this Time the Town 'is tired with the Verſes, and you with 'the Criticiſms of

Your moſt humble Servant,

PHILODINGLE.

'My unknown Friend Mr. *Philodingle* 'has taken my Province from me: How-'ever, I am obliged to him for his Eſſay. 'The beſt Return which can be made to 'an ingenious Man, is to afford him freſh 'Matter to employ his Thoughts, and 'more Opportunities of ſhewing his Saga-'city. For this Reaſon I preſent my Bro-'ther *Examiner* with a *Riddle*, which was 'ſent me by a Sage, ſtudious of *Egyptian* 'Knowledge, and much addicted to the 'Hieroglyphics.

The RIDDLE.

SPHINX was a Monſter, that would eat
Whatever Stranger ſhe could get;
Unleſs his ready Wit diſclos'd
The ſubtle Riddle ſhe propos'd.

OEdipus was reſolv'd to go,
And try what Strength of Parts cou'd do.
Says *Sphinx*, On this depends your Fate;
Tell me what Animal is that,
Which has four Feet at Morning bright;
Has two at Noon, and three at Night?
'Tis Man, ſaid he, who weak by Nature,
At firſt creeps like his Fellow-Creature,
Upon all four: As Years accrue,
With ſturdy Steps he walks on two:
In Age, at length, grown weak and ſick,
For his third Leg adopts his Stick.
Now in your Turn, 'tis juſt, methinks,
You ſhould reſolve me, Madam *Sphinx*,
What ſtranger Creature yet is he,
Who has four Legs, then two, then three;
Then loſes one, then gets two more;
And runs away, at laſt, on four?

It ſeems as if Mr. *Addiſon* had begun his Paper chiefly to pay his Regard to Mr. PRIOR's Remarks and Riddle; the firſt Number of it, which we here inſert, being dated only a Week after them. I ſhall not

not interfere in the Diſpute between theſe Gentlemen, farther than to deal impartially with both Sides, and leave the Compariſon of their two Pieces to the Reader's Judgment.

The WHIG-EXAMINER.

N° 1. *Thurſday September* 14. 1710.

'THE Deſign of this Work is to cenſure the Writings of others, and to give all Perſons a Re-hearing, who have ſuffered under any unjuſt Sentence of the *Examiner*. As that Author has hitherto proceeded, his Paper would have been more properly entitled the *Executioner:* At leaſt, his Examination is like that which is made by the Rack and Wheel. I have always admired a Critic that has diſcovered the Beauties of an Author, and never knew one who made it his Buſineſs to laſh the Faults of other Writers, that was not guilty of greater himſelf; as the Hangman is generally a worſe Malefactor than the Criminal that ſuffers by his Hand. To prove what I ſay, there needs no more than to read the Annotations which this Author has made upon Dr. *Garth*'s Poem, with the Preface in the Front, and a Riddle at the End of

Mr. *Addiſon*'s Anſwer.

'of them. To begin with the firſt: Did 'ever an Advocate for a Party open with 'ſuch an unfortunate Aſſertion? *The Col-'lective Body of the Whigs have already 'engroſſed our Riches:* That is, in plain '*Engliſh*, the Whigs are poſſeſs'd of all 'the Riches in the Nation. Is not this 'giving up all he has been contending for 'theſe ſix Weeks? Is there any thing more 'reaſonable, than that thoſe who have all 'the Riches of the Nation in their Poſ-'ſeſſion; or, if he likes his own Phraſe 'better, as indeed I think it is ſtronger, 'that thoſe who have already engroſſed our 'Riches, ſhould have the Management of 'our Public Treaſures, and the Direction 'of our Fleets and Armies? But let us 'proceed: *Their Repreſentative the Kit-'Cat have pretended to make a Monopoly of 'our Senſe.* Well, but what does all this 'end in? If the Author means any thing, 'it is this: That to prevent ſuch a Mono-'poly of Senſe, he is reſolved to deal in it 'himſelf by Retail, and ſell a Pennyworth 'of it every Week. In what follows, 'there is ſuch a ſhocking Familiarity both 'in his Railleries and Civilities, that one 'cannot long be in doubt who is the Au-'thor. The remaining Part of the Pre-'face has ſo much of the Pedant, and ſo 'little of the Converſation of Men in it, 'that I ſhall paſs it over, and haſten to the 'Riddles. 'The

'The firſt Part of this little myſtical 'Poem is an old Riddle, which we could 'have told the Meaning of, had not the 'Author given himſelf the Trouble of 'explaining it; but as for the Expoſition 'of the ſecond, he leaves us altogether in 'the Dark. The Riddle runs thus: *What 'Creature is it that walks upon four Legs 'in the Morning, two Legs at Noon, and 'three Legs at Night?* This he ſolves, as 'our Forefathers have done for theſe two 'thouſand Years; and not according to '*Rabelais*, who gives another Reaſon why 'a Man is ſaid to be a Creature with three 'Legs at Night. Then follows the ſe-'cond Riddle: *What Creature*, ſays he, '*is it that firſt uſes four Legs, then two 'Legs, then three Legs; then loſes one 'Leg, then gets two Legs, and at laſt runs 'away upon four Legs?* Were I diſpoſed 'to be ſplenetic, I ſhould ask if there was 'any thing in the new Garland of Riddles 'ſo wild, ſo childiſh, or ſo flat: But tho' 'I dare not go ſo far as that, I ſhall take 'upon me to ſay, that the Author has 'ſtolen his Hint out of the Garland, from 'a Riddle which I was better acquainted 'with than the *Nile* when I was but 'twelve Years old. It runs thus: *Riddle 'my Riddle my Ree, what is this? Two 'Legs ſat upon three Legs, and held one 'Leg in her Hand; in came four Legs,*

'*and*

'*and ſnatch'd away one Leg; up ſtarted two Legs, and flung three Legs at four Legs, and brought one Leg back again.*

'This Enigma, join'd with the foregoing two, rings all the Changes that can be made upon four Legs. That I may deal more ingenuouſly with my Reader than the above-mentioned Enigmatiſt has done, I ſhall preſent him with a Key to my Riddle; which upon Application he will find exactly fitted to all the Words of it: One Leg is a Leg of Mutton; two Legs is a Servant-Maid, named ſo from the Number of her Legs; three Legs is a Joint-Stool, which in the *Sphinx*'s Country was called a Tripode; as four Legs is a Dog, who in all Nations and Ages has been reckoned a Quadruped. We have now the Expoſition of our firſt and third Riddles upon Legs; let us here, if you pleaſe, endeavour to find out the Meaning of our ſecond, which is thus in the Author's Words:

What ſtranger Creature yet is he,
That has four Legs, then two, then three;
Then loſes one, then gets two more,
And runs away at laſt on four?

'This Riddle, as the Poet tells us, was propoſed by *OEdipus* to the *Sphinx*, after he had given his Solution to that which

'the

'the *Sphinx* had propoſed to him. This 'Oedipus, you muſt underſtand, tho' the 'People did not believe it, was Son to a 'King of *Thebes*, and bore a particular 'Grudge to the Treaſurer of that King-'dom; which made him ſo bitter upon 'His Lordſhip in this Enigma.

What ſtranger Creature yet is he,
That has four Legs, then two, then three?

'By which he intimates, that this great 'Man at *Thebes* being weak by Nature, 'as he admirably expreſſes it, could not 'walk as ſoon as he was born, but, like 'other Children, fell upon all four when 'he attempted it; that he afterwards went 'upon two Legs, like other Men; and 'that in his more advanced Age, he got 'a white Staff in Queen *Jocaſta*'s Court, 'which the Author calls his third Leg. 'Now it ſo happened that the Treaſurer 'fell, and by that Means broke his third 'Leg, which is intimated by the next 'Words, *Then loſes one.*——Thus far I 'think we have travelled thro' the Riddle 'with good Succeſs.

What ſtranger Creature yet is he,
That has four Legs, then two, then three?
Then loſes one——

'But

'But now comes the Difficulty that has 'puzzled the whole Town, and which I 'muſt confeſs has kept me awake for theſe 'three Nights:

——*Then gets two more,*
And runs away at laſt on four.

'I at laſt thought the Treaſurer of *Thebes* 'might have walk'd upon Crutches, and 'ſo ran away on four Legs, *viz.* two na-'tural and two artificial. But this I have 'no Authority for; and therefore upon 'mature Conſideration do find that the 'Words (*Then gets two more*) are only *Greek* 'Expletives, introduced to make up the 'Verſe, and to ſignify nothing; and that '*runs*, in the next Line, ſhould be *rides*. 'I ſhall therefore reſtore the true antient 'Reading of this Riddle; after which it 'will be able to explain itſelf.

OEdipus ſpeaks:

Now in your Turn, 'tis juſt, methinks,
You ſhou'd reſolve me, Madam Sphinx,
What ſtranger Creature yet is he,
Who has four Legs, then two, then three;
Then loſes one, then gains two more,
And rides away at laſt on four?

'I muſt now inform the Reader, that '*Thebes* was on the Continent, ſo that it

'was

'was eaſy for a Man to ride out of his 'Dominions on Horſeback; an Advantage 'that a *Britiſh* Stateſman would be de-'prived of. If he would run away, he 'muſt do it in an open Boat; for to ſay 'ſo of an *Engliſhman* in this Senſe, that he 'runs away on all four, wou'd be as ab-'ſurd as to ſay, he clapped Spurs to his 'Horſe at St. *James*'s Gate, and gallop'd 'away to the *Hague*.

'Before I take my Farewel of this Sub-'ject, I ſhall adviſe the Author for the 'future to ſpeak his Meaning more plainly. 'I allow he has a happy Talent at Dog-'grel, when he writes upon a known Sub-'ject. Where he tells us in plain intelli-'gible Language, how *Coriſca*'s Ladle was 'loſt in one Hole, and *Hans Carvel*'s Fin-'ger in another, he is very jocular and 'diverting; but when he wraps a Lam-'poon in a Riddle, he muſt conſider that 'his Jeſt is loſt to every one but the few 'merry Wags that are in the Secret. This 'is making darker Satires than ever *Per-'ſius* did. After this curſory View of the '*Examiner*'s Performance, let us conſider 'his Remarks upon the Doctor's. That 'general Piece of Raillery which he paſ-'ſes upon the Doctor's conſidering the 'Treaſure in ſeveral different Views, is 'that which might fall upon any Poem 'in *Waller*, or any other Writer who has

'Diverſity

'Diverſity of Thoughts and Alluſions: 'And though it may appear a pleaſant Ridicule to an ignorant Reader, is wholly 'groundleſs and unjuſt. I do likewiſe diſſent with the *Examiner*, upon the Phraſes 'of *Paſſions being poiſed*, and of the *retrieving Merit from Dependance*, which 'are very beautiful and poetical. It is the 'ſame cavilling Spirit that finds fault with 'that Expreſſion of the *Pomp of Peace amidſt the Woes of War*, as well as of 'offering *unask'd*. As for the *Nile*, how *Icarus* and *Phaeton* came to be joined 'with it, I cannot conceive. I muſt confeſs they have been formerly uſed to 'repreſent the Fate of raſh and ambitious 'Men; and I cannot imagine why the 'Author ſhould deprive us of thoſe particular Similes for the future. The next 'Criticiſm, upon the Stars, ſeems introduced for no other Reaſon but to mention Mr. *Bickerſtaff*, whom the Author 'every where endeavours to imitate and 'abuſe. But I ſhall refer the *Examiner* to the Frog's Advice to her little 'one, that was blowing itſelf up to the 'Size of an Ox:

——*Non ſi Te ruperis, inquit,*
Par eris——

'The

'The Alluſion to the Victim may be
'a Gallimatias in *French* Politics, but is an
'apt and noble Alluſion to a true *Engliſh*
'Spirit. And as for the *Examiner*'s Re-
'marks on the Word *Bleed* (tho' a Man
'would laugh to ſee impotent Malice ſo
'little able to contain itſelf) one cannot
'but obſerve in them the Temper of the
'*Banditti* whom he mentions in the ſame
'Paper, who always murder where they
'rob. The laſt Obſervation is upon the
'Line, *Ingratitude's a Weed of every Clime.*

'Here he is very much out of Hu-
'mour with the Doctor, for having cal-
'led that the *Weed* which *Dryden* only
'terms the *Growth* of every Clime. But,
'for God-ſake, why ſo much Tenderneſs
'for Ingratitude?

'But I ſhall ſay no more. We are
'now in an Age where impudent Aſſer-
'tions muſt paſs for Arguments: And I
'don't queſtion but the ſame, who has
'endeavoured here to prove, that he who
'wrote the *Diſpenſary* was no Poet, will
'very ſuddenly undertake to ſhew, that
'he who gained the Battle of *Blenheim* is
'no General.

Mr. *Addiſon* publiſhed only five Num-
bers of the *Whig Examiner*. The ſecond
and fourth are in Anſwer to Lord *Boling-
broke*'s Letter to the *Examiner*; but I muſt

not insert them for want of Room. He is afterwards said to have assisted Mr. *Manwaring*, Mr. *Steele*, Dr. *Hare*, Mr. *Oldmixon*, and others, in carrying on the *Medley*, a Paper which, as it was intended only for an Answer to the *Examiner*, was dropped the next Week after it, in *August* 1711. I shall only observe of these two Rivals, that the *Examiner* was thought in general to have much the most Wit.

The Inclinations of the new Ministers were so effectually made known to the *French* Court, that the Marquis *de Torcy*, at the Beginning of the Year 1711, transmitted to *England* the following Propositions, which were dated the 22d of *April*.

The first Propositions of *France*.

'AS it is not to be doubted but the 'King is in a Condition to maintain the War with Glory; so it cannot 'be esteemed a Sign of Weakness, that 'His Majesty breaks the Silence that he 'has kept since the Separation of the Conferences of *Gertruydenburgh*; and that 'before the Opening of the Campaign, 'he still gives new Proofs of the Desire 'that he has always preserved to procure 'the Re-establishment of the Repose of '*Europe*: But after the Experience he 'has made of the Sentiments of those 'who now govern the Republic of *Holland*,

'*land*, and of their Induſtry to render the 'Negotiations fruitleſs, he is willing, for 'the Public Good, to addreſs to the *Eng-* '*liſh* Nation the Propoſitions that he thinks 'fit to make to end the War, and firmly 'to ſecure the general Tranquillity of 'Chriſtendom.

'It is with this View, that the King 'offers to treat of Peace upon the Baſis 'of the following Conditions.

I. 'That the *Engliſh* ſhall have real 'Securities to exerciſe their Commerce 'hereafter in *Spain*, to the *Indies*, and in 'the Ports of the *Mediterranean*.

II. 'The King will agree to form in 'the *Low Countries* a ſufficient Barrier for 'the Security of the Republic of *Holland*; 'and this Barrier ſhall be agreeable to *Eng-* '*land*, and to the good liking of the '*Engliſh*; his Majeſty promiſing, at the 'ſame Time an entire Liberty and Secu- 'rity for the Commerce of the *Dutch*.

III. 'Reaſonable Means ſhall be ſin- 'cerely and *bonâ fide* ſought out for, to 'ſatisfy the Allies of *England* and *Holland*.

IV. 'As the good State of the Affairs 'of the King of *Spain* furniſhes new Ex- 'pedients to end the Difference touching

'that Monarchy, and to regulate it to the 'Content of the Parties intereſted, ſin-'cere Endeavours ſhall be uſed to ſur-'mount the Difficulties raiſed on this Oc-'caſion, and to ſecure the State, the Com-'merce, and generally the Intereſts of all 'the Parties engaged in the preſent War.

V. 'The Conferences to treat of the 'Peace upon the Baſis of theſe Condi-'tions ſhall be immediately opened, and 'the Plenipotentiaries that the King ſhall 'nominate to aſſiſt thereat, ſhall treat 'with thoſe of *England* and *Holland* alone, 'or jointly with thoſe of their Allies, at 'the Choice of *England*.

VI. 'His Majeſty propoſes the Cities 'of *Aix la Chapelle* and *Leige* for the 'Place where the Plenipotentiaries ſhall 'be aſſembled, referring it to *England* to 'chuſe one of thoſe two Cities to treat 'therein of the general Peace. Given at '*Marli* the twenty-ſecond Day of *April*, '1711.

DE TORCY.

April 27, 1711. O.S. Mr. Secretary *St. John* tranſmits theſe Propoſitions to Lord *Raby*, the Queen's Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, with Orders to communicate them to the Penſionary,

ſionary, 'to aſſure that Miniſter the Queen 'was reſolved in making Peace, as in 'making War, to act in perfect Concert 'with the States; and deſires the Secret 'may be kept among as few as poſſible. 'He confeſſes that the Terms of the ſe-'veral Propoſitions are very general; that 'there is an Air of Complaiſance ſhewn 'to *England*, and the contrary to *Holland*, 'which might be of ill Conſequence, but 'can be of none, as long as the Queen 'and States take Care to underſtand each 'other, and to act with as little Reſerve 'as becomes two Powers ſo nearly allied 'in Intereſt: And deſires the Penſionary 'to be aſſured, that this Rule ſhall on 'our Part be inviolably obſerved.'

Lord *Raby* by his Letters to Mr. *St. John*, in anſwer to theſe Orders and Aſ-ſurances, acquaints him, 'That the Pen-'ſionary had, with thoſe of that State 'who had been formerly employed in 'the Negotiations of Peace, conſidered 'Monſieur *de Torcy*'s Propoſitions, and 'the obliging Manner in which Her Ma-'jeſty was pleaſed to communicate them: 'That they thanked Her Majeſty for 'Her Confidence in them, and aſſure 'Her, that theirs is reciprocal; and that 'as Her Majeſty had promiſed, ſhe will 'make no Step towards a Peace but in 'Concert with them, they deſire ſhe may *May* 25 and 26, 1711. N.S.

'be aſſured of the ſame on their Part; 'and that they will make no Step in that, 'or any other Kind of Negotiation, which 'regards the mutual Intereſts of both Na- 'tions, but in Communication and Con- 'cert with her Majeſty. They urge the 'Neceſſity of an entire Confidence one 'with the other, at this critical Juncture; 'they declare themſelves weary of the 'War, which they endeavour to conceal 'from the Enemy, leſt he ſhould make 'his Advantage by it; and that they are 'ready to join in any Meaſures, which 'Her Majeſty ſhall think proper, to ob- 'tain a good Peace. But they look upon 'theſe Propoſitions as yet, in the ſame 'Manner as the Secretary does, to be very 'dark and general, and deſigned to create 'Jealouſies between Her Majeſty, that 'Republic, and the Allies; but they de- 'pend upon Her Majeſty's Juſtice and 'Prudence, to prevent any ſuch ill Effect, 'and hope ſhe will make the *French* ex- 'plain, more particularly, the ſeveral 'Points contained in them'.

Lord *Raby* concludes, 'That he thought 'it adviſeable, and neceſſary, to go open 'with the States in this Matter of the Pro- 'poſitions; acquaints the Secretary that 'all the Letters from *France* agreed, that 'all the Hopes the *French* had was to ſow 'Jealouſies among the Allies.' And re-

peats

peats his Advice, 'That we must act cautiously with the States, that they may have no Reason to accuse us, for taking the least Measures without them.'

But it was not long before Mr. Secretary *St. John* prepared his Excellency to have other Sentiments of the Manner of carrying on this Negotiation, and acquaints *May* 29. him with the agreeable News, 'That it was Her Majesty's Pleasure, that his Excellency should make all possible Haste to come over, since her Service may better dispense with his Absence at this Point of Time, than it will perhaps do at another, and since we must now expect to have very soon upon the *Tapis*, many Intrigues, concerning which the Queen thinks it expedient that he should confer with the Ministers here; acquaints him, that Her Majesty designed, upon his Arrival, to give him the * Promotion in the Peerage, which he had desired. And then, that his Excellency might begin to have some Notions agreeable to the Sense of our Ministers, Mr. *St. John*, in answer to some very long Letters of his Lordship's, tell him in these Words, That *Britain* had gone so much too far in weaving her Interest into that of the Continent, that it would prove no easy

* The making him Earl of *Strafford*; which was accordingly done.

'Task to diſentangle our Affairs without 'Tearing or Rending.

June 16. In anſwer to this, Lord *Raby* writes, 'You may be aſſured, I will venture any 'thing and undertake any thing to ſerve 'the Queen; you may venture boldly to 'truſt me with the real Intentions, and 'be aſſured, I will not make further 'uſe of them, than according to my In-'ſtructions.' He tells him, 'If the 'Thing is actually gone no further than 'it appears, and *France* has not yet ex-'plained, and he has a mind, that he 'ſhould come over for the Queen's Ser-'vice, he is ready to come in a Yacht, 'Frigate, Packet-Boat, or any Way.' And concludes in ſhort, 'Diſpoſe of me 'how you pleaſe; for all my Deſire is 'to ſerve her Majeſty to her Satisfaction, 'and I ſhall never grudge any Danger and 'Pains.'

Mr. PRIOR ſent to *France*.

Things being thus diſpoſed, Mr. PRIOR was ſent over to *France* in order to ſet the Negotiations on Foot. But as moſt of his Papers relating thereto were either prudently concealed, or ſeized by the Miniſtry of the late King, we muſt in many Places rely on the Report of the *Secret Committee*, his profeſſed Enemies, for an Account of what paſſed.

All

All Tranſactions betwixt *England* and *France* for ſome Time, except two or three Papers, were, they aſſured us, intirely ſuppreſſed, which in Lord *Strafford*'s Inſtructions are ſaid to have been carried on by Papers ſent backward and forward, and much Time ſpent therein. The firſt Paper that was found, is called, *Private Propoſitions ſent by Mr.* PRIOR *from* England. They here follow. *October 1ſt*, 1711.

Saturday *the firſt of* July, 1711.

Private Propoſitions ſent to *France* by Mr. PRIOR.

'THAT the Man was to be ſent over To-morrow for a final Anſwer.

'That we would make no Peace but what ſhould be to the Satisfaction of all our Allies; that the *Dutch* ſhould have a Barrier, the Emperor one for their Security, and the Duke of *Savoy* one; and that he ſhould have reſtored all that was put into his Poſſeſſion by the Emperor; and that the *French* ſhould reſtore all they had taken from him; and that he ſhould have what other Addition ſhould be thought proper; and that Care ſhould be taken to keep the Balance in *Italy*; and that we ſhould have poſitive Aſſurance that the Crowns of

'*France*

'*France* and *Spain* ſhould never be 'united.

'That all our Allies ſhould be ſatisfied 'according to their Agreements and Trea-'ties with us.

'That the Trade of *Holland* ſhould be 'ſecured.

In Relation to GREAT BRITAIN *in particular.*

'THAT our Trade and Commerce 'ſhould be ſettled and agreed, on 'ſuch a Foot as will be to the Satisfaction 'of the Subjects of *Great Britain.*

'That the Government ſhould be ac-'knowledged in *France*, as it is now ſet-'tled in *Great Britain.*

'That *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahon* 'ſhould continue in the Poſſeſſion they 'now are in.

'That *Dunkirk* ſhould be demoliſh'd.

'That the *Aſſiento* ſhould be entirely 'in the Hands of *Great Britain*; and that '*France*, nor no other, ſhould pretend to 'meddle in it, but *Britain* enjoy it after 'the Peace as the *French* do now.

'That *Newfoundland* ſhould be entirely 'given up to the *Engliſh*; that the Trade 'of *Hudſon's Bay* ſhould continue in the

'Hands

'Hands of the *French* and *Engliſh*, as 'they are now.

'And that all Things in *America* ſhould 'continue in the Poſſeſſion of thoſe they 'ſhould be found to be in at the Con-'cluſion of the Peace.

'That all Advantages, or Liberty of 'Commerce, that has been or ſhall be 'granted to the *French* by the *Spaniards*, 'ſhall be equally granted to the Subjects 'of *Great Britain*.

'That the Secret ſhall be inavoidably 'kept, till allowed to be divulged by the 'mutual Conſent of both Parties con-'cerned.

The next was a Paper called, Mr. PRIOR's *Authority*. This was ſigned, ANNE *R.* at the Top, and *A. R.* at the Bottom, not counterſigned, and without a Date; and the Contents were, *Mr.* PRIOR *is fully inſtructed and authorized to communicate to* France *our Preliminary Demands, and to bring us back the Anſwer.* Mr. PRIOR's Authority.

Theſe two Papers together were Mr. PRIOR's Powers and Inſtructions, or at leaſt all that were given in by him on his Examination; but by an Entry in Lord *Strafford*'s Book, ſubjoined to theſe private Propoſitions carried over by Mr. PRIOR, it appears that Mr. PRIOR had Orders to ſee if *France* had full Powers from *Spain*.

There

There is no Account given of any Correſpondence with Mr. PRIOR during his Stay in *France*; nor does the certain Time of his Continuance there appear. Upon his Arrival there, Monſieur *de Torcy* tells Mr. *St. John*, 'He ſaw with great Pleaſure Mr. PRIOR return after an Interval of ſo many Years; that he could have wiſhed, he had had greater Liberty to employ thoſe Talents which he was perſuaded he would have made a good Uſe of; but he hopes Monſieur *Meſnager* will ſupply what he could not do.' Upon his Return he was attended by Monſ. *Meſnager*, a Miniſter of *France*, veſted with full Powers in due Form, * to treat, negotiate, conclude, and ſign with ſuch Miniſters, as ſhould be authorized in due Form, not by *Britain* only, but any of the Princes or Eſtates then in actual War with *France*.

Aug. 3. N. S.

Mr. PRIOR ſeized.

Mr. PRIOR, Monſ. *Meſnager*, and the Abbé *Gualtier*, were ſeized at *Canterbury* in their Way to *London*, by Mr. *Macky* the Maſter of the Packet-Boats, who had got Information of Mr. PRIOR's Journey: But it does not appear that they were long detained.

That Monſ. *Meſnager*, upon his Arrival here, frequently conferred with the Queen's

* Dated *Auguſt* 3.

Miniſters,

Miniſters, appears by many Inſtances; but the ſubject Matter of theſe Conferences, the Times, Places, and particular Perſons with whom he treated, we find no Account of, till the 20th of *September*, 1711.

By a Letter of Mr. Secretary *St. John*, then at *London*, of that Date to the Queen at *Windſor*, it appears, that the Lord Treaſurer, Lord Chamberlain, Lord *Dartmouth*, and Mr. *St. John*, met Monſ. *Meſnager* that Evening at Mr. PRIOR's Houſe; which Meeting, as Mr. *St. John* ſays, was by Order of the Lords of the Committee of Council; but ſeems unknown to the Queen, until the Secretary acquainted her with it by this Letter.

MADAM,

Mr. *St. John*'s Letter to the Queen.

'THE Lords of the Committee of Council met this Morning at the *Cockpit*, and directed the Earl of *Dartmouth* and myſelf to confer with Monſ. *Meſnager*.

'We ſaw him accordingly this Evening at Mr. PRIOR's Houſe, where my Lord Treaſurer and my Lord Chamberlain were likewiſe preſent.

'He has put into our Hands the Anſwer ſigned by the King of *France* to the Demands laſt ſent over by your Ma-

'jeſty's

'jesty's Order, and this Answer complies 'with every Article, except the Eighth re- 'lating to *North-America*: We find, how- 'ever, that we shall be able to compound 'this Point, in the Manner which your 'Majesty some Time ago resolved to pass 'it in; provided *France* gave you Satis- 'faction upon the seventh Article, as she 'has now entirely done.

'The Propositions which are to be 'sent into *Holland*, as the Foundation of 'a general Treaty, we have likewise re- 'ceived from him, and that which was 'thought most liable to Objection, has 'been very much mended. My Lord 'Treasurer having however proposed some 'farther Alterations, in order to make the 'whole the more palatable abroad; and 'Monsieur *Mesnager* seeming inclined to 'agree to them; I am this Night to draw 'them into Form, for my Lords of the 'Council to consider To-morrow Morn- 'ing.

'This, Madam, being the present Si- 'tuation of the Treaty, your Servants are 'unanimously of Opinion, that the War- 'rant and Full Powers should be prepared 'this Night, and transmitted to your Ma- 'jesty; by which Means, if it be your 'Pleasure, the latter may pass the Great 'Seal To-morrow.

'It

'It is now ſo extremely late, and I 'have ſo much Buſineſs to do, which 'muſt of Neceſſity be got ready by Morn-'ing, that the whole Night would not 'ſuffice, if I was to engroſs the Inſtru-'ments in my own Hand-writing; I there-'fore make uſe of a Clerk to tranſcribe 'them, but it is the ſame who has copy'd 'all the Papers which have paſſed in the 'Courſe of this Negotiation.

'There comes an exact Tranſlation of 'the Full Powers in this Pacquet, the 'Words of which are very ample and ex-'tenſive; but they are agreeable to the 'Form uſed by your Majeſty upon ſuch 'Occaſions.

'My Lord Treaſurer moved, and all 'my Lords were of the ſame Opinion, 'that Mr. PRIOR ſhould be added to thoſe 'who are impowered to ſign; the Reaſon 'for which is, becauſe he having per-'ſonally treated with Monſieur *de Torcy*, 'is the beſt Witneſs we can produce of 'the Senſe in which the General Prelimi-'nary Engagements are entered into: Be-'ſides which, as he is the beſt vers'd in 'Matters of Trade of all your Majeſty's 'Servants who have been truſted in this 'Secret, if you ſhall think fit to employ 'him in the future Treaty of Commerce, 'it will be of Conſequence that he has 'been a Party concerned in concluding

'that

'that Convention, which muſt be the 'Rule of this Treaty. The reſt of the 'Plenipotentiaries are all thoſe who have 'the Honour to ſit in your Majeſty's Ca-'binet-Council, which my Lords under-'ſtood to be your Majeſty's Pleaſure.

'The *Oſtend* Mail, which arrived laſt 'Night, brought no News.

I am, MADAM, &c.

H. St. John.

At this Meeting, the Letter informs us, Monſ. *Meſnager* delivered to the *Britiſh* Miniſters the Anſwer, ſigned by the King of *France*, to the Demands laſt ſent over by *England*; which Demands and Anſwer were made the Secret Preliminary Articles betwixt *Great Britain* and *France*, and were ſigned as ſuch by Monſ. *Meſnager* on the Part of *France*, and the Acceptation of them by Lord *Dartmouth*, and Mr. *St. John*, on the Part of *Great Britain*.

Sept. 27, 1711.

And as Mr. *St. John*, in this Letter, repreſents it to the Queen, as the unanimous Opinion of her Servants then preſent, that a Warrant and Full Powers ſhould be prepared that Night, and tranſmitted

mitted to Her Majesty to be signed, in order to pass the Great Seal the next Day; whereby the Persons therein named, among whom was Mr. PRIOR, were to be constituted Plenipotentiaries, to meet and treat with Monsieur *Mesnager*; a Warrant was accordingly prepared, and, with a Translation of the Full Powers, sent to the Queen.

This Warrant under the Signet appears signed by the Queen, directing the Lord Keeper to affix the Great Seal to an Instrument thereunto annexed, containing her Commission to himself, and others, therein named, to meet and treat with the Sieur *Mesnager*: But it does not appear, that any such Instrument did pass the Great Seal, the Warrant remaining not countersigned, and endorsed, *Not used.*

On the same Day that the special Preliminaries betwixt *Great Britain* and *France* were signed, another Set of General Preliminaries on the Part of *France* was signed by Monsieur *Mesnager* only; which Mr. *St. John*, in his Letter to the Queen, says, were to be sent into *Holland*, as the Foundation of a general Peace; in which my Lord Treasurer had made some Alterations, to make the whole more palatable abroad. And on the same Day, a separate Article was signed in Favour of the Duke of *Savoy*.

From this Time a perfect Confidence was eſtabliſhed between the two Miniſtries of *England* and *France*; and in the Letters written in the Month of *October*, a mutual Sincerity is recommended and engaged for, and that a perfect Unanimity be maintained for accompliſhing the Work in hand.

Lord *Strafford*'s Inſtructions in order to his immediate Return into *Holland* were now preparing, and dated *Oct.* 1. O.S. 1711. And as an early Proof of the Confidence which Mr. *St. John* repoſed in the *French* Miniſter, he acquaints Monſ. *de Torcy* by Letter, that the Earl of *Strafford* was going for *Holland*; and ſays, 'Your Miniſter, (meaning Monſieur *Meſnager*, who was then going back to *France*, and carried this Letter,) is fully informed in what the Earl of *Strafford* is to propoſe to the States.'

Oct. 2. O.S.

Lord *Strafford*'s chief Buſineſs was to deliver to the States the Propoſitions ſigned by Monſieur *Meſnager*, as the Foundation of a General Peace, and as the whole of what had been tranſacted; and to acquaint them, that *France* had propoſed *Utrecht*, *Nimeguen*, *Aix la Chapelle*, or *Liege*, to be the Place for opening the Conferences: To preſs the States to fix upon one of theſe Places, and immediately to grant Paſſports to the *French* Plenipotentiaries

tiaries to come thither, and open the General Conferences.

These Propositions, so very general, did extremely alarm the States, as not being, in their Opinion, a sufficient Foundation upon which a Negotiation might he hazarded.

They sent over Monsieur *Buys* to intercede with her Majesty to alter her Resolutions: They made the same Representations to the Earl of *Strafford*; but all to no Purpose. For, as Mr. *St. John* declared in a Letter to my Lord *Strafford*, 'Certain it is that her Majesty has so far 'determined upon her Measures, that 'those will deceive themselves who may 'imagine by Delay or other Artifices to 'break them.' And again 'the Queen will 'not finally concert a Plan for the Pro'secution of the War with the States, 'until they join with her in agreeing to 'open the Conferences of Peace.' And Lord *Strafford* acquaints Mr. *St. John*, 'That he had now told them Her Majesty's 'Order to him was to declare, That she 'should look upon any Delay as a Refusal 'to comply with her Propositions.

Oct. 9. *Nov.* 2. *Nov.* 15.

In these Circumstances the *Dutch* at last comply to grant the Passports, and agree to open the General Conferences at the Time fixed by the Queen, *January* the 1st, 1711-12.

The Repreſentations made by the States, on both Sides the Water, did however make ſome Impreſſions, as is evident by a Memorial delivered by Mr. *St. John* to
Oct. 29. the Abbot *Gaultier*, and by Mr. *St. John*'s Letter to Monſieur *de Torcy* that accompanied it: Yet it is in the Memorial declared, 'That the Queen remains firm in her 'firſt Reſolution of cauſing the Conferences 'to be opened upon the Articles ſigned by 'Monſieur *Meſnager*.' The ſame Memorial declares, 'it was abſolutely neceſſary 'that the moſt Chriſtian King ſhould 'give to Her Majeſty, the Queen, ſuch 'Explications of his Intentions in reſpect 'to the particular Intereſts of the Allies, 'which he ſhall think proper to engage 'them to come more eaſily into the general Negotiation.

The Return made by *France* was contained in a Paper called, *Anſwer to the*
Nov. 18. *Memorial brought by Monſieur* Gaultier. This Memorial is accompanied with a Letter from Monſieur *de Torcy* to Mr. *St. John*, of the ſame Date, wherein he tells him, 'His Majeſty wholly depends upon 'the Secrecy and good Uſe you will make 'of the entire Confidence he teſtifies to 'the Queen of *Great Britain*; and the 'King of *France* extols the Firmneſs of 'the Queen, and ſees with great Pleaſure 'the new Marks of Reſolution ſhe ſhews.'

Purſuant

Purſuant to the Reſolution of the States-General upon the preſſing Inſtances of the Queen, Paſſports for the *French* Plenipotentiaries were ſent to Monſieur *Buys*, and delivered to Mr. *St. John*. *Utrecht* was agreed upon here, to be the Place for the general Conferences.

Plenipotentiaries appointed.

The Biſhop of *Briſtol*, then Lord Privy-Seal, and the Earl of *Strafford*, were appointed Her Majeſty's Plenipotentiaries. And *December* the 23d, 1711, Her Majeſty's Inſtructions to her ſaid Plenipotentiaries were ſettled and ſigned, wherein the Plenipotentiaries are ordered, 'That 'if it ſhall be thought proper to begin by 'the Diſpoſition of the *Spaniſh* Monar-'chy, you are to inſiſt that the Security 'and reaſonable Satisfaction which the 'Allies expect, and which his moſt Chriſ-'tian Majeſty has promiſed, cannot be 'obtained, if *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* 'be allotted to any Branch of the Houſe 'of *Bourbon*.' So that hitherto the Queen thought fit to declare, in all public Acts, that *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* ought by no Means to be left in the Poſſeſſion of the Houſe of *Bourbon*.

They meet at *Utrecht*.

On the 15th of *January*, 1711-12, the *Britiſh* Plenipotentiaries arrive at *Utrecht*, who by their general Inſtructions being ordered to concert Meaſures with the Miniſters of the Allies, and at the Beginning

Jan. 31. 17$\frac{11}{12}$. purſuing theſe Directions; Monſieur *de Torcy* writes to Mr. *St. John*, and tells him, 'He perceives there was not ſo perfect a Confidence eſtabliſhed between the * Plenipotentiaries of *France* and *Great Britain*, as was to be deſired: He believes therefore he will think it proper to ſend to the Biſhop of *Briſtol* and the Earl of *Strafford* more preciſe Inſtructions, concerning the Manner, in which they were to concert their Proceedings with the King's Plenipotentiaries.' And in the Anſwer to the Memorial ſent by Monſieur *Gaultier*, it is declared, 'The principal Order that the King had given to his Plenipotentiaries, when they ſet out for *Utrecht*, was to eſtabliſh a ſtrict Intimacy between them and the Miniſters of the Queen of *Great Britain*.'

March 28. 1712.

I ſhould exceed the Bounds I have preſcribed myſelf, ſhould I inſert all that paſſed in this remarkable Congreſs, and which is already ſufficiently public. In what follows therefore, I ſhall confine myſelf to the more private Negotiations that were carried on at the *French* Court, in which Mr. PRIOR was immediately concerned.

* The Mareſchal *d' Uxelles*, and the Abbé *de Polignac*, who had before treated at *Gertruydenburgh*.

While

While Matters at the Congreſs went on ſlowly, it was thought proper and neceſſary in *England*, that Lord *Bolingbroke* ſhould go himſelf to *France*, finally to adjuſt and ſettle the great Points in Diſpute.

Lord *Bolingbroke*'s Inſtructions for his Embaſſy to *France*.

The Subſtance of his Inſtructions was, 'To remove all Difficulties and Differences 'that might obſtruct the general Suſpenſion of Arms between *England* and '*France* from taking Place, or ſettling 'the Treaty of Peace in ſuch a Courſe, 'as may bring it to a happy and ſpeedy 'Concluſion. But to declare, that he does 'not imagine there will be any Poſſibility 'to prevail with the Queen to ſign the 'Peace with *France* and *Spain*, unleſs 'full Satisfaction be given to his Royal 'Highneſs the Duke of *Savoy*, and unleſs they can take him along with them 'in the doing thereof. He is therefore 'to take particular Care to ſettle his Barrier, and to procure *Sicily* for him; to 'ſettle the Renunciation in ſuch a Manner, that there may be as little Room 'left as poſſible for Diſpute or Delay; 'that the Elector of *Bavaria* may have '*Sardinia*, and be reſtored to his Dominions in the Empire, except the *Upper* '*Palatinate* and the firſt Electorate; and 'when he has had Satisfaction in theſe 'Points, he is to proceed to ſpeak to ſuch 'Articles as relate particularly to the In-

'tereſt of *Great Britain*, and endeavour 'to have ſuch of them, as there may ap- 'pear to be any Doubt concerning, ex- 'plained in the moſt advantageous Man- 'ner. And then he is to do his beſt to 'diſcover upon the ſeveral Parts of the 'general Plan of Peace, what the real '*Ultimatum* of *France* may be: And when 'the Peace between *England* and *France* 'ſhall be ſigned, that it may be expe- 'dient to fix the Allies a Time to come 'in, wherein the Queen will uſe her good 'Offices, but will not be under any Obli- 'gation to impoſe upon the Allies the 'Scheme offered by *France*, or to debar 'them from obtaining better Terms for 'themſelves.'

With theſe Inſtructions Lord *Bolingbroke* went to *France*; and as to his Proceedings there, we have a full Account of them in two Letters to Lord *Dartmouth*, from which the following Paſſages are extracted.

His Negotiations there.

"Monſ. *de Torcy* and I began with the Intereſts of the Duke of *Savoy*, from whence the principal Obſtacle to the Concluſion of the Suſpenſion of Arms by Sea and Land aroſe, and after ſome Conteſtation have adjuſted them in this Manner.

The Right of this Prince and of his Family to the Crown of *Spain* and the *Indies*,

Indies, after *Philip* and his Deſcendants, is to be ſubſtituted in the ſame Acts and at the ſame Time as the ſeveral Renunciations and Settlements are made, declared, and confirmed, which are neceſſary to accompliſh the Article for preventing the Union of the Two Monarchies.

On the Ceſſion of *Sicily* he would have adhered to the Terms of his laſt Diſpatch, and urged the Abſurdity of giving this Kingdom away till they were ſure of making Peace with *Savoy*. This Point being over, there was little Diſpute about the Time when his Royal Highneſs ſhall be put into the actual Poſſeſſion of this Kingdom: We have ſettled it to be on the Ratification of a general Peace, or of a Peace between the Queen, *France*, *Spain*, and *Savoy*.

I wiſh I could have prevailed on the Head of the Barrier as far as I did on the other Two; but it was impoſſible, at leaſt it was ſo for me. Monſieur *de Torcy* repreſented that *Exilles*, *Feneſtrelles*, and the Valley of *Pragelas*, beſides the Reſtitution of all which *France* is in Poſſeſſion of, was the utmoſt which the King would ever conſent, or had ever conſented to give.

The next Head to which we proceeded, was that of the Renunciations and Settlements neceſſary to prevent the Union of the Two Crowns, and in treating of this

I cannot ſay that I met with any Difficulty. I gave no Hopes that any Expedient would be accepted to ſign the Peace before this Article was entirely accompliſhed; though Monſieur *de Torcy* propoſed that the Peace ſhould not be delayed for it, but the Ratifications ſhould. He has ſince conſulted Monſieur *Bergheyk*, and they are of Opinion that a Month's, or at fartheſt Six Weeks Time, will ſuffice to paſs all the Forms; ſo that I am deſired to recommend the Diſpatch of my Lord *Lexington*, or whoever elſe the Queen ſhall think fit to ſend into *Spain*.

The Draught of *Philip*'s Act of Renunciation, and the Minutes taken by by Monſieur *de Torcy* and me, both which I tranſmit to your Lordſhip, will, I ſuppoſe, be a ſufficient Ground-work of Inſtructions to thoſe whom Her Majeſty ſhall chuſe to ſend hither and to *Madrid*.

The laſt Point, and that on which we had the warmeſt Debates, was concerning the Elector of *Bavaria*. Monſieur *de Torcy* turned this Matter ſeveral Ways, and made Variety of Propoſitions. At laſt he reſted on this, that the Queen ſhould engage to procure for the Elector the Dutchy and Electorate of *Bavaria*, excluſive of the *Upper Palatinate*, and the Rank in the Electoral College; and that ſhe ſhould promiſe to maintain him

in

in the Poſſeſſion of the Dutchies and Towns of *Luxemburg* and *Namur*, and in the Poſſeſſion of *Charleroy* and *Nieuport*, until ſuch an Equivalent for theſe Countries and Places was given him as he ſhould be ſatisfied with. This Propoſition I poſitively refuſed to aſſent to, and told Monſ. *de Torcy* very plainly, that leaving theſe Towns and Places in the Elector's Poſſeſſion till he had ſuch an Equivalent as he ſhould be ſatisfied with, was really giving them abſolutely to him, which I knew Her Majeſty neither could or would admit: Further, that Her Majeſty would enter into no Engagements to procure any Thing for the Elector, or even to uſe Her Offices in his Behalf: But that Her Majeſty would not oppoſe his having *Sardinia*, which Equivalent had been propoſed firſt from hence. This I let him know was the Sum of all he was to expect from the Queen, and your Lordſhip will find the Minutes drawn accordingly.

The Suſpenſion being now ſigned, I ſhall, purſuant to my Inſtructions, diſpatch Her Majeſty's Orders to Sir *John Jennings*, to Mr. *Chetwynd*, and to the Officer who commands the Queen's Troops in *Catalonia*.

The Chevalier has fixed his Departure on the firſt of next Month, N. S. They propoſe that he ſhall retire to *Bar*; and they intend to write to the Duke of *Lorrain*,

rain, to ask of the Emperor, and other Princes, a Security for his Perſon during his Reſidence in that Place.

I encloſe the Convention for the Armiſtice in the *Netherlands*, which your Lordſhip will have Occaſion for, and which, with the Act of Renunciation, and the Minutes tranſmitted to you, will afford ſufficient Materials for my Lord *Lexington*'s Inſtructions.

As I intend to leave this Place on *Wedneſday* at furtheſt, it will be proper to loſe no Time in diſpatching a Letter of Credence to Mr. PRIOR, to whom your Lordſhip will likewiſe pleaſe, as ſoon as poſſible, to ſend the Queen's Ratification."

Mr. PRIOR left in *France*.

It appears by theſe Extracts, that Mr. PRIOR was in *France* with Lord *Bolingbroke*, and pitched upon to be left there, on his Lordſhip's Departure, to accommodate ſuch Matters as were yet unſettled. He went over, as we learn from the State of his Accounts printed at the End of this Work, on the 1ſt of *Auguſt* this Year, and from the End of that Month had the Appointments and Authority of an Ambaſſador, though he did not aſſume the public Character till after the Duke of *Shrewsbury*'s Departure the next Year, when his Journal begins. We find however, in what follows, that the Burthen of the Embaſſy lay

lay on him even during his Grace's Stay, who rather gave a Sanction to it by his high Quality, than contributed to the Diſpatch of the Negotiations.

Immediately after Lord *Bolingbroke*'s Arrival in *England*, he wrote this long and remarkable Letter to Mr. PRIOR, concerning the State of Affairs at that Time.

September 10*th*, 1712. O. S.

Lord *Bolingbroke* to Mr. PRIOR.

'I WAS equally ſurprized and vexed to find, that by the uncouth Way of explaining the Queen's Senſe, you had been led to imagine, that it was intended my Lord *Lexington* ſhould make any Difficulty of ſeeing and complimenting the King of *Spain* as ſuch.

'We ſpent above three Hours in penning Minutes yeſterday upon this Head, which was long ago adjuſted. I ſuppoſe the Inſtructions will be at laſt clear; but my Lord *Lexington* having been preſent at the Debate, his underſtanding of the Matter will make amends for any dark ambiguous Article which may be in them.

'*Dartmouth* is to communicate the Queen's Orders herein to you, that ſo you may be able to ſatisfy the *French* Miniſters, and they to prepare the *Spaniſh* Miniſters: However, I will venture to tell you in a few Words what I underſtand

'derſtand is to be the Meaſure of Lord '*Lexington*'s Conduct. As ſoon as he ar-'rives at *Madrid*, he will notify his Ar-'rival to the Secretary of State; he will 'when he ſees this Miniſter let him know, 'that the Queen has ſent him thither to 'compliment the King in her Name, to 'be a Witneſs of the ſeveral Renuncia-'tions, and other Acts requiſite to com-'plete the Execution of the Article agreed 'upon as neceſſary to prevent the Union 'of the Two Monarchies: That after this, 'he is to proceed to ſettle ſuch Matters 'of Commerce, and other Affairs as are 'for the mutual Intereſt of both Nations, 'and ſo take the Character of Ambaſſador 'upon him. My Lord will at the ſame 'Time produce his Credentials, and give 'the Secretary a Copy of them if he de-'ſires it. In this Conference he will fur-'ther take Notice of the ſeveral Ceſſions 'made by the King of *France*, in behalf 'of his Grandſon to the Queen, and will 'ſpeak of them as Points which he looks 'upon to be concluded. He will likewiſe 'give a Memorial of them in Writing, 'ſigned by himſelf, to the Secretary, and 'expect from him an Aſſent in the King's 'Name, in Writing alſo, and ſigned by 'the Secretary.

'This ſeems natural, civil, and unex-'ceptionable; but any other Scheme is

'abſurd,

'absurd, and inconsistent with all the rest 'of our Proceedings.

'For God-sake, Dear *Matt.* hide the 'Nakedness of thy Country, and give the 'best Turn thy fertile Brain will furnish 'thee with to the Blunders of thy Country-'men, who are not much better Politi-'cians than the *French* are Poets!

'I have writ in great Haste a prodi-'gious long Letter to Monsieur *de Torcy*, 'which, I believe, he will shew you; but 'for fear he should not, I enclose in this 'an Extract of Part of it, which relates 'to a Matter that has given Lord Treasurer 'and your humble Servant no small Trou-'ble in Cabinet. The Copy of the Ple-'nipotentiaries Dispatch of the 2d of '*September*, which I likewise send you, 'will shew you how a Dispute now on 'Foot at *Utrecht* begun: You will observe 'that their Lordships are very warm in it, 'and I can assure you we have those who 'are not a Jot cooler.

'The Solution of this Difficulty must 'come from you; it is matter of Manage-'ment and Appearance, more than of 'Substance; and the Court of *France* must 'be less politic than I think them at any 'Time, and more unreasonable than I 'think them at this Time, not to come 'into a Temperament upon a Matter un-'necessarily started. You must begin by

'making

'making Monſieur *de Torcy* not only to 'underſtand, but own he underſtands the 'Propoſition, which, I am ſure he re-'members, I more than once repeated to 'him when I was in *France*, upon vari-'ous Occaſions, and which I have again 'ſtated as clearly as I am able. The 'Queen can never do any thing, which 'ſhall look like a direct Reſtraint on her 'Allies from demanding what they judge 'neceſſary: But as long as they act the 'Part which they now do, ſhe can very 'juſtly be Paſſive and Neuter as to their 'Intereſts; and if her Peace be made 'before theirs, which ſhe will not delay 'for them, ſhe can with the ſame Juſtice 'leave them to make their own Bargain. 'This is Advantage enough for *France*, 'and ſuch an one, fairly ſpeaking, as a 'Year ago they would have given more 'than *Tournay* to have been ſure of: They 'muſt not therefore preſs us to go further 'than this, nor do any Thing which may 'ſeem contradictory to what the Queen 'delivered from the Throne. That Speech 'they have always owned as the Plan they 'ſubmitted to, and it varies but little from 'that brought hither by *Gaultier*.

'In a word, the Uſe which the *French* 'will make of the unaccounable Obſti-'nacy of the *Dutch* and other Allies, 'may in ſeveral Reſpects, and particularly

'for

'for aught I know in this Inſtance of '*Tournay*, give them an Opportunity of 'ſaving and gaining more than they could 'have hoped for; and the Queen may 'in the preſent Circumſtances contribute 'paſſively to this End, but actively ſhe 'never can in any Circumſtances.

'I think in my own Opinion, and I 'believe ſpeak the Queen's upon this Oc-'caſion, that it were better the *French* 'ſhould in the Courſe of the Treaty de-'clare, that whatever they intended to 'have given the *Dutch*, when the Queen 'ſpoke from the Throne, their Conduct 'has been ſuch, and the Situation of Af-'fairs ſo altered, that the King is reſolved 'to have *Tournay* reſtored to him; I ſay, 'I believe this were better, than to expect 'that we ſhould conſent to an Expoſition 'of the Queen's Words, by which Her 'Majeſty would yield the Town up.

'Let the Conferences begin as ſoon as 'they can, I dare ſay, Buſineſs will not 'be very ſpeedily diſpatched in them: In 'the mean Time we ſhall go on to ripen 'every Thing for a Concluſion between 'Us and *Savoy*, *France*, and *Spain*; and 'this is the true Point of View which 'the *French* ought to have before their 'Eyes.

'You will be very ſhortly particularly 'and fully inſtructed to ſettle the Article

'of *North America*, and thoſe Points of 'Commerce ſtill undetermined. That 'done, the Miniſters may ſign at *Utrecht*, 'as ſoon as they can hear from Lord '*Lexington*.

'My Lord *Dartmouth* writes to you 'concerning a Clamour which our Mer-'chants have raiſed, as if under Pretence 'of not carrying to *Lisbon* or *Barcelona* * '*des Proviſions de Guerre ou de Bouche*, 'they ſhall be debarred from their uſual 'Traffic of Corn and Fiſh, which at thoſe 'Places there are great Demands for in 'Time of Peace as well as in War, and 'without any Conſideration of the Ar-'mies. The Difficulty as to *Lisbon* ſeems 'to be removed by the *Portugueze* ſub-'mitting to come into the Suſpenſion of 'Arms, and he propoſes to you an Ex-'pedient as to *Barcelona*: But in Truth, 'that War muſt be ended of Courſe now, 'ſince the Queen ſupports it no longer, 'and the *Dutch* are re-calling their Fleet 'from the *Streights*. The Duke of *Ar-'gyle* is going immediately now away, 'and the Moment he comes to *Minorca*, 'he draws to him every Thing belong-'ing to the Queen out of *Catalonia*: The 'Imperial Troops muſt in my Opinion 'that Moment ſubmit, and compound

* Proviſions either of Arms or Victuals.

'for

'for Tranſportation; and when the War 'is at an End, I think there can be no 'Pretence of quarrelling with us for car-'rying our Goods to the People of the 'Country.

'It is now Three o'Clock in the Morn-'ing: I have been hard at Work all Day, 'and am not yet enough recovered to bear 'much Fatigue; excuſe therefore the Con-'fuſedneſs of this Scroll, which is only 'from *Harry* to *Matt.* and not from the 'Secretary to the Miniſter.

'Your Credentials of Miniſter Pleni-'potentiary will be ſent you, together with 'your Full Powers, by the next Boat, and 'before * Duke *Hamilton* goes, I will move 'to have you removed to *Utrecht*, which 'there will be a natural Handle for, as 'ſoon as you ſhall ſettle the Points of 'Commerce, and in doing that, have 'given the laſt Stroke to the finiſhing the 'Treaty with *France.*

'Make my Compliments to Madam '*Teriol*, and let her know that I have, 'I hope, put her Affair into a Way of 'being finiſhed to her Satisfaction. I 'have ſpoke very earneſtly to *Maffei*, and 'have uſed the proper Arguments to him.

* Duke *Hamilton* was appointed Ambaſſador to *France*; but being killed in a Duel by Lord *Mohun*, the Duke of *Shrewsbury* was ſent in his Place.

'Adieu! My Pen is ready to drop out 'of my Hand. Believe that no Man loves 'you better, or is more faithfully,

Yours, &c.

BOLINGBROKE.

P. S. 'I had almoſt forgot to tell you 'that the Queen is pleaſed to diſcharge 'the Mareſchal * *Tallard*'s Parole, which 'you may aſſure him of, with my Com-'pliments, and give any Signification 'neceſſary in Form.'

I muſt add two or three Things to this Letter, by Way of Explanation and Remark.

Remarks on the Letter.

Firſt, It appears that Lord *Dartmouth* had by Miſtake acquainted Mr. PRIOR, that Lord *Lexington* ſhould not acknowledge PHILIP as King of *Spain*, till he had agreed to the Demands his Lordſhip was to make in the Queen's Name. Mr. PRIOR having tranſmitted this Order to Lord *Lexington*, the Procedure was very much diſliked in *France*. Hereupon Mr. PRIOR writes a Letter to Lord *Dartmouth*, to induce our Miniſtry to recede from this Point; concluding with the following Paſſage: "The whole Treaty being eventual,

* He had ſome Time before been permitted to go to *France* on his Parole.

"this

" this Acknowledgment of PHILIP as " King of *Spain*, will fall, as the other " Points, unleſs the Conditions are made " good, and the Peace agreed to and rati- " fied." In anſwer to this, Lord *Bolingbroke* wrote the Beginning of his Letter.

Secondly, That the Miniſtry here, as well as the Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, were much embaraſſed about the Diſpute that had ariſen concerning the Town of *Tournay*, and that Mr. PRIOR was left to ſettle this Point with the *French* Miniſtry.

Thirdly, That the Claims on *North America*, and the Buſineſs of Commerce, were the moſt eſſential Articles now to be concluded between *England* and *France*, and that theſe were to be adjuſted by Mr. PRIOR, before the Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht* could proceed.

Juſt about this Time Advice came, that the *French* had invaded the Leeward Iſlands. Such a Step as this was far from being expected, and Lord *Bolingbroke* writes thus of it to Mr. PRIOR.

' This, Dear *Matt.* proves a very un- *Sept.* 19.
' toward *Contretemps*; it gives a Theme O. S.
' to the Whigs, and ſerves to awaken Paſ-
' ſions that were almoſt lulled aſleep.
' We expected that *Caſſart*'s Squadron
' might be gone to the Coaſt of *Braſil*, or
' to *Surinam*; but we never imagined our

'Colonies would have been attacked by 'him, at the Time when we were knit-'ting the Bands of Friendſhip between 'the two Nations with all poſſible Induſ-'try. Could this ill Opinion of our new 'Friends have entered into our Heads, I 'do aſſure you he ſhould have been ac-'companied by a Fleet of the Queen's, 'which would have kept him in Reſpect. 'In a Word, we depended ſo much upon 'the good Underſtanding, which we 'thought eſtabliſhed, and were ſo earneſt 'to prevent any Thing which might 'break in upon it, that we not only avoid-'ed to fortify our Squadron as we might 'have done, but we alſo neglected to put 'in Execution ſome Deſigns, which 'would have annoyed both *French* and '*Spaniards*, perhaps more than any that 'have been effected in the Courſe of this 'War.

This Affair, however, did not put a Stop to the Negotiations that were on foot. The latter End of *October* Mr. PRIOR was ſent into *England* by the King of *France*, to prevail with the Queen to join with him in obtaining the Elector of *Bavaria*'s Demands. He brought with him a Credential Letter to the Queen, which is here inſerted.

Verſailles,

Verſailles, October 28th, 1712.

Madam, My Siſter,

'YOU having acquainted Me, that You have an entire Confidence in Mr. PRIOR, I thought he would be more capable than any Body, to inform you of the new Proofs that I am ready to give You, of the particular Regard I have for You, as alſo of my Deſire to terminate without any Delay, in Concert with You, the Negotiations of Peace. He goes into *England* to give You an Account of the further Advances that I am willing to make, to facilitate an entire Concluſion of this Work. I would have You therefore regard what I do in this deciſive Conjuncture, as new and certain Marks of my Friendſhip for You; and do Me that Pleaſure to acknowledge them, by intereſting Yourſelf with Me in Favour of the Elector of *Bavaria*. I do not remind You of the Ties of Blood which unite Him as well to You as Me, nor of any other Reaſons which ought to render You ſenſible of his Condition: It is ſufficient for Me that You are ſenſible of the Concern that I have in what regards him; and I am perſuaded that this will be the principal

The King of *France*'s Credential Letter ſent by Mr. PRIOR.

'Motive that will preſs You to act in his 'Favour. I expect with Impatience the 'Return of Mr. PRIOR, whoſe Conduct 'is very agreeable to Me: And as he will 'aſſure You of what my Sentiments are, 'I will only add that he cannot ſufficiently 'expreſs the perfect Eſteem and ſincere 'Friendſhip I have for You.

I am,

Madam, My Siſter,

Your Good Brother,

LOUIS.

About the Middle of *November* Mr. PRIOR was ſent back into *France* with new Inſtructions, and the following Letter from Her Majeſty to the *French* King. Theſe two remarkable Letters are laſting Teſtimonies of the high Confidence Mr. PRIOR was in, not only with his own Sovereign, whom he had long and faithfully ſerved, but with the King of *France*, whom he had more than once made the Object of his Satire.

Windſor,

Windſor, November 14*th*, 1712.

Monſieur, My Brother,

'I HAVE received with a very ſincere 'Pleaſure the agreeable Letter which 'Mr. PRIOR brought Me from You. As 'your conſummate Wiſdom hath taken 'the Reſolution that is moſt proper to fix 'the Terms of the Peace, You'll be per-'ſuaded, that I will not on my Part loſe 'a Moment to haſten the Concluſion of 'it. I aſſure You, that the great Facility 'that you are willing to lend towards it 'out of a Regard to Me, ſhall be made 'no other Uſe of, than to be employed 'without any Delay to re-eſtabliſh the 'public Tranquillity, according to the 'Wiſhes of Us both. By the Orders that 'I give to My Miniſters at *Utrecht*, it will 'appear that I do all that is in My Power 'at the preſent Conjuncture, in favour of 'a Prince whoſe Intereſt is ſupported by 'your Generoſity.

The Queen's Anſwer ſent back by Mr. PRIOR.

'I do not at all doubt, but he himſelf 'is fully convinced of it, and that all the 'World agrees in it; I again repeat, Mon-'ſieur my Brother, that the Conſideration 'of Your Friendſhip will be a very prevail-'ing Motive to engage Me a-new in his 'Intereſt, and in the Intereſt of his Fa-'mily, as Occaſion ſhall offer, for the

'Future:

'Future: As to the reſt, I ſend back Mr. 'PRIOR to *Verſailles*, who in continuing 'to conduct himſelf in the Manner that 'ſhall be entirely agreeable to You, does 'no more than execute to a Tittle the 'Orders which I have given him; and 'amongſt all the Proofs of his Duty and 'Zeal for my Service, I expect in a very 'particular Manner that he ſhould take 'all poſſible Occaſions to repeat to You the 'Eſteem and perfect Regard that I have 'for You, and My earneſt Deſire to live 'with You in a ſincere and perpetual 'Friendſhip.'

With Regard to the *Newfoundland* Fiſhery, and other Articles relating to *America*, it appears that thro' the wonted Inſincerity of the *French*, there was much 'Trouble in getting thoſe Matters adjuſted. Lord *Bolingbroke* writes concerning them, both to the Duke of *Shrewsbury* and Mr. PRIOR. To the latter he expreſſes himſelf thus:

Lord *Bolingbroke* to Mr. PRIOR, *Jan.* 19th, $17\frac{12}{13}$. O. S.

'I have exhauſted all my Stock of Ar-'guments in the long Letter which, by 'the Queen's Order, I write to the Duke 'of *Shrewsbury*: To you I can only add, 'We ſtand indeed upon the Brink of a 'Precipice, but the *French* ſtand there too. 'Pray tell Monſieur *de Torcy* from me,

'that

'that he may get *Robin* and *Harry* hang-
'ed; but Affairs will ſoon run back into
'ſo much Confuſion, that he will wiſh
'us alive again. To ſpeak ſeriouſly, un-
'leſs the Queen can talk of Her Intereſts
'as determined with *France*; and unleſs
'your Court will keep our Allies in the
'Wrong, as they are ſufficiently at this
'Time, I foreſee inextricable Difficulties.

'My Scheme is this: Let *France* ſa-
'tisfy the Queen, and let the Queen im-
'mediately declare to Her Parliament,
'and in the Congreſs, That She is ready
'to ſign: At the ſame Time let the *French*
'Plenipotentiaries ſhew a Diſpoſition to
'conclude with all the Allies.' And then his Lordſhip enumerates the ſeveral Offers which he would have *France* make to the ſeveral Allies; and ſays, 'If ſuch Over-
'tures as theſe were not inſtantly accepted,
'our ſeparate Peace would, ſitting the
'Parliament, be addreſſed for, made, and
'approved; and the Cauſe of *France* for
'once become popular in *Britain*.

'If they were accepted, let Monſieur
'*de Torcy* ſit down and conſider, what a
'Bargain would be made for *France*; let
'him remember his Journey to the *Hague*,
'and compare the Plans of 1709, and
'1712.

'Monſieur *de Torcy* has a Confidence
'in you: Make uſe of it once for all

'upon

'upon this Occaſion, and convince him 'thoroughly, that we muſt give a different 'Turn to our Parliament and our People, 'according to their Reſolution at this 'Criſis.'

Jan. 22. The next Letter from his Lordſhip to Mr. PRIOR, is upon the ſame Subject, and of the ſame Strain: 'We are now, ſays 'his Lordſhip, at the true Criſis of our 'Diſeaſe; we die at once, or recover at 'once: Let *France* depart from that 'ſhameful Expedient by which they 'thought to bubble us out of the Advan-'tages which they had ſolemnly yielded, 'and all is well; otherwiſe, *by God*, both 'they and we are undone.

'Pray ſend *Barton* back as faſt as poſ-'ſible. The Queen can neither delay the 'Meeting of the Parliament longer than 'the 3d, nor ſpeak to the Houſes, till we 'hear from you.

'My Compliments to Monſieur *de Torcy*: 'Let him know, that if they do not 'agree with the Queen, I may perhaps 'be a Refugee: If I am, I promiſe before-'hand, to behave myſelf better in *France*, 'than the *French* Refugees do here. Make 'the *French* aſhamed of their ſneaking 'Chicane; by Heaven, they treat like 'Pedlars, or, which is worſe, like At-'tornies.'

Mr.

Mr. PRIOR a little before had ſent a Diſpatch * to the Secretary's Office, giving a full Account of the preſent State of the Treaty, together with ſeveral Papers, Memorials, and Propoſitions relating to the Points in Diſpute, and concerning Commerce, and *North America*. The Day after he writes to my Lord Treaſurer, and tells him, 'I have wrote a Book inſtead of a Letter, to my Lord *Bolingbroke*, which I deſire your Lordſhip would be pleaſed to run over, that knowing what I have done here, you may honour me with your Commands as to what I am to do. I hope my Propoſal about *Newfoundland*, which I ſend your Lordſhip encloſed, is ſuch as may terminate that Affair to our Advantage. If your Lordſhip is of the ſame Opinion, I ſhall have entire Satisfaction.'

Mr. PRIOR to the Earl of *Orford*.

Mr. PRIOR having ſent another full Account to the Secretary of State, writes the ſame Day to my Lord Treaſurer, 'That he had been in Conference with the *French* Miniſters to adjuſt the Points undecided between Her Majeſty and the King of *France*; that he had ſent Lord *Bolingbroke* the Reſult of thoſe Conferences, as well what was agreed to by the *French* Miniſters, as his own Re-

Jan. 8. $17\frac{11}{12}$. N. S.

* Dated *December* 28, 1712.

'marks

'marks upon each particular Head; and 'ſays, I hope your Lordſhip will find the 'whole adjuſted ſo far to your Satisfaction, 'as that our Plenipotentiaries may receive 'their final Orders. I will not doubt but 'the whole Affair of *Newfoundland* is ad-'juſted to your Deſire. There were ſome 'Points inſiſted upon by our Plenipoten-'tiaries, which the Miniſters here thought 'very unreaſonable; and to ſay a Truth 'to my Lord Treaſurer plainly, which I 'a little mitigate to my Lord *Bolingbroke*, 'I think not very reaſonable.' He then gives an Account 'that Monſieur *de Torcy* 'was ſurprized, that the *Dutch* had but 'in Part complied with what Lord *Straf-'ford* declared to them to be Her Ma-'jeſty's Reſolutions, to which he hopes 'the Queen will ſend ſuch an Anſwer as 'may cut off all Delays:' And upon this Occaſion Mr. PRIOR ſays to My Lord Treaſurer; 'This I only write to your 'Lordſhip, it being a Thing that ſhould 'not be canvaſſed in Council; and I have 'promiſed that the King ſhould have Her 'Majeſty's Anſwer upon it, as he deſires.'

Jan. 19. 1712/13. Mr. PRIOR writes again to my Lord Treaſurer, and acquaints him, 'That the 'Duke of *Shrewsbury* now ſends to Lord '*Bolingbroke* the Subſtance of their laſt 'Conferences with Monſieur *de Torcy*, 'upon the Subject of *Newfoundland:* To

'which

'which I take Leave to add, That your 'Friend *Torcy* is in the laſt Concern to 'find the Duke's Inſtructions ſo ſtrict, in 'a Point which cannot be given up by '*France*, at a Time when we well hoped 'that Difference was adjuſted. Pray, my 'Lord, let us have your diſtinct and po-'ſitive Orders hereupon by the firſt. I 'ſend your Lordſhip encloſed a Copy of 'my Letter to my Lord *Bolingbroke*, and 'the Duke of *Shrewsbury* deſires, that 'we may have your Orders to finiſh. I 'believe *Torcy* writes himſelf to you.'

He writes once more to my Lord Trea- *Jan.* 23, ſurer on the ſame Head, and tells him, 'I $17\frac{12}{13}$. 'have already wrote ſo amply to your 'Lordſhip, on the two great Points of '*Newfoundland*, and the Tariff of 1664, 'and expect ſo daily your laſt Orders upon 'thoſe two Points, that I will not trouble 'you at preſent further than to ſay, if 'theſe two are ſettled, the Peace may be 'determined here To-morrow, and ſent 'the next Day to *Utrecht* to be ſigned.'

And ten Days after Mr. PRIOR ſays to my Lord Treaſurer; 'If I deſire you to write *Feb.* 2d. 'to me, it is becauſe I really think it for $17\frac{12}{13}$. 'the Queen's Service; that in this great 'Poſt where you have put me, I may be 'able to ſay, I have the immediate Com-'mands of my Lord Treaſurer; and in 'regard to that Friendſhip with which

'you

'you have ſo publickly honoured me; 'and which, by the By, does all the Buſineſs here.' And again, 'I ſhall direct 'myſelf as you ſhall be pleaſed to inſtruct 'me privately.'

In *May* 1713. In a Letter to Lord *Bolingbroke* ſome Time after the Concluſion of the Peace, Mr. PRIOR expreſſes himſelf merrily concerning the Difficulties that had ariſen on the Articles of Commerce. 'We had 'like, ſays he, to have made an *Athana-'ſian* Buſineſs of it at *Utrecht*, by that 'Explanation of our own Way of under-'ſtanding our own Commerce. Their 'Letters to you, full of Surmiſes and 'Doubts that all was unhinged; and 'their Letters to us again, that Explana-'tions, however made, were only to ſave 'Appearances, and ſignified nothing; 'this *Mêlange*, I ſay, and my endeavour-'ing to underſtand it, had like to make 'me run mad, if the Duke of *Shrewſ-'bury*'s extreme good Senſe, and Monſieur '*de Torcy*'s not only honeſt, but right 'Underſtanding, had not redreſſed us.'

This is all that remains of Mr. PRIOR's concerning the Buſineſs of *Newfoundland*. We have only a few Fragments more of his writing during the Negotiations in *France*, which relate chiefly to the Chevalier's Departure, mentioned in Lord *Bolingbroke*'s Letter of *September* 10, 1712.

It

It is on this Account that Mr. PRIOR writes thus to my Lord *Bolingbroke.* 'Another Point upon which this Court is very ſolicitous, is, That the Chevalier remaining in any Town of *France* obſtructs the Signing the Peace; yet he cannot go to *Lorain* till the Emperor's Paſſports will ſecure him there. Your Lordſhip, by the Peruſal of the Papers, will ſee the State of that Caſe; and I have only to add upon this Subject, that the Court of *France* expreſſes an Impoſſibility on their Sides, to do more than they have done, and hopes we ſhould have Intereſt enough with the Emperor, to obtain ſuch Paſſports from him, as may ſecure, as well as the Perſon who is to go into *Lorain*, as the Duke of *Lorain*, who is to receive him.' *Dec.* 28*th*, 1712.

And to the ſame Effect he writes to my Lord Treaſurer, and ſays, 'The Monarch is a good deal troubled upon this Head, leſt the young Man ſhould fall into the Hands of the *Huſſars* or *Barbarians.* And Monſ. *D'Aumont* has, I preſume, Orders to ſpeak to our Miniſtry upon it. *Dec.* 29*th.*

'As to the Dowry, I ſhall not only be dunn'd to Death, but hang'd; for the * Dowager ſends Meſſengers to me, which

* The Queen of the late King JAMES.

'you in *England* do not think it extremely 'lawful to receive: But if it is to be paid, 'pray let it be done in an handſome Man-'ner, that may ſhew the Charity of the 'Queen, and the Generoſity of Her Lord 'Treaſurer.'

Nov. 6*th*, 1713. Lord *Bolingbroke* to Mr. PRIOR.

But though the Chevalier was removed into *Lorain*, upon an Addreſs of the *Britiſh* Parliament, Lord *Bolingbroke* writes almoſt a Year after to Mr. PRIOR, upon the ſame Buſineſs, and ſays; 'Her Majeſty 'having repeated to the Duke of *Lorain* 'the Inſtances which you know have been 'ſo often made to the moſt Chriſtian King, 'for removing of the Pretender to Her 'Crown out of his Dominions, I am di-'rected to acquaint you therewith, that 'you may ſpeak to the Miniſter of *Lorain*, 'and to any other Miniſter whom you 'ſhall think proper, and let them know 'it is abſolutely inconſiſtent with the Ami-'ty and good Correſpondence that is be-'tween the Queen and their Maſters, to 'receive into their Dominions, or to pro-'tect a Perſon, who diſputes Her Ma-'jeſty's moſt undoubted Title, and there-'by endeavours to diſturb the Peace and 'Quiet of Her Kingdoms. That you 'may be able to ſhew them that this is 'the collective Senſe of the whole Nation, 'as well as the Queen's Command to you,

'I

'I herewith ſend you the Addreſſes of both 'Houſes of Parliament.'

Mr. PRIOR being left ſole Miniſter, upon the Duke of *Shrewsbury*'s Return to *England*, he received ſoon after a Letter from Lord *Bolingbroke*, in which was the following Paſſage:

'There is a Perſon here, of whom *Sept.* 25, 'we have never taken the leaſt Notice 1713. 'as a public Man, but who, however, 'is an Agent from the *Catalans*. By what 'we obſerve in him it is pretty plain, 'that a reaſonable Accommodation might 'be made with that turbulent People. 'What is the Senſe of the *French* Court 'on this Matter? How far will they con-'cur with the Queen in adviſing *Philip* 'to make an End of that War?'

In Purſuance of this Inſtruction, we find that Mr. PRIOR addreſſed Monſieur *de Torcy* in Favour of the *Catalans*, who after ſpeaking of it to the King, returned the following Anſwer.

'YOU received, Sir, ſome Time M. *de Tor-* 'ſince, Orders from the Queen of *cy* to Mr. 'Great Britain to uſe Her good Offices PRIOR, 'with the King in Favour of the *Cata-* *Nov.* 13*th.* 'lans, who have rebelled againſt the King

'of *Spain*, and of the Inhabitants of *Barcelona*. You acquainted me, that Her '*Britannick* Majesty was sure they would 'submit to the King their Master, if that 'Prince would grant them a general Amnesty, the Restitution and Enjoyment 'of all their Estates, and in short the 'same Conditions which he had caused 'to be offered them, and which they did 'not accept, without mentioning their 'antient Privileges any more.

'The Answer which the King just now 'receives from the Catholick King upon 'this Article, is, That he is still willing 'to grant the same Conditions to the rebellious *Catalans*, notwithstanding they 'rendered themselves unworthy of his 'Favours, by slighting them, and altho' 'he is now in a Condition to reduce 'them by Force: He desires the King to 'impart his Answer to the Queen of *Great* 'Britain, my Lord *Lexington* having had 'no Orders to speak about this Affair.'

I now proceed to Mr. PRIOR's Journal, from the Duke of *Shrewsbury*'s Departure out of *France*, till his own Return into *England* after the Accession of King *George*, as it was found among his Papers in the Hand-writing of *Adrian Drift*, Esq; his Excellency's Secretary.

Mr.

Mr. *PRIOR*'s JOURNAL AT THE COURT of *FRANCE*.

HIS Grace the Duke of *Shrewſbury*, and My Lady Dutcheſs, ſet out from *Paris* in a Berlin on *Wedneſday* the 31ſt of *Auguſt*, 1713, N. S. between One and Two in the Morning, and arrived at *Calais* on *Sunday* Evening the 3d of *September*; were entertained at Supper by Monſieur *de Mole* the Governor there, and about Eleven at Night embarked on Board the *Peregrine* Galley, Captain *Saunderſon* Commander; and at Seven the next Morning landed ſafe at *Dover*, where his Grace reſted but two Hours, and then proceeded onwards to *London* with my Lady Dutcheſs; whence his Grace went to *Windſor*, and had Audience of Her Majeſty; gave Her an Account of his Embaſſy, with which Her Majeſty was well pleaſed.

At Seven in the Morning Mr. PRIOR, in his own Coach with ſix Horſes, ſet out from *Paris* for *Fontainbleau*, where he arrived about *Sept.* 13*th.*

the ſame Hour in the Evening; and between Nine and Ten paid a Viſit to Monſieur *de Torcy*.

Sept. 15*th.* Mr. PRIOR preſented to Monſieur *de Torcy* a Memorial on the following Heads.

"That the fifty Sols *per* Ton laid in *France* on all *Engliſh* Shipping, and five Shillings *per* Ton impoſed in *Great Britain* on thoſe of *France*, ſhould be taken off on both Sides.

That ſeveral *Engliſh* Merchants, who were come to load Salt in the Ports of *France*, might be permitted to ſail with their ſaid Loading.

That an Anſwer might be returned to Mr. *Pownol*'s Memorial concerning his Eſtate at *Dunkirk*, given by the King to the Marquis *de Livry*.

That Monſieur *Pontchartrain* return an Anſwer to the Memorial relating to the Ship the *Three Brothers* of *New York*.

That Anſwer be made concerning the Affair of Mr. *Welden*.

To the Affair of Mrs. *Lynche*'s Marriage.

That the * *Galeriens* be ſet at Liberty, according to the Specification given to Mr, *Pecquet*."

At the ſame Time Mr. PRIOR preſented a Memorial from Captain *Peter Peterſon*, concerning the Ship *John Baptiſt*, ſeized at *Marſeilles*.

Monſieur *de Torcy* promiſed to procure Anſwers as deſired, and gave to Mr. PRIOR in Writing that about Mr. *Welden*'s Affair; with ſeveral Papers annexed.

* Galley Slaves.

Mr.

Mr. PRIOR received from Monſieur *de Torcy* the Anſwer of the Marquis *de Livry* to the Papers of Mr. *Pownol*, *&c.* *Sept.* 17*th.*

A Memorial was preſented to Monſieur *Deſmarets*, ſigned by Mr. PRIOR, deſiring an Order to the Cuſtom-Houſe Officers at *Paris*, that they may deliver ſixteen Caſes come from *Roüen*, addreſſed to Mr. PRIOR, and one Hogſhead of Wine, to the Perſon appointed by him to receive the ſame, without being opened. *Sept.* 18*th.*

The ſame Day the Papers above-mentioned concerning Mr. *Pownol* were delivered to him, with which he did not ſeem ſatisfied, and ſaid he would petition the King, and deliver it himſelf. Mr. PRIOR promiſed to do him all the good Offices in his Power.

A Paſſport was given to Lieutenant Colonel *James Urquhart* and Major *Duncan Campbel*, in the Regiment of the Lord *Mark Kerr*, at *Port Mahone*, to go to *London*. *Sept.* 20*th.*

Another Paſſport to Captain *James Davidſon*, in the Regiment of Colonel *Moleſworth*, alſo at *Port Mahone*, to go to *London*.

Mr. PRIOR preſented to Monſieur *de Torcy* a Memorial, with one annexed from Monſieur *de Douglas*, concerning his Claim to the Village of *Dankelſheim* and *Kitteſheim* in *Alſace*, *&c.*

Another Memorial relating to the Ship *Neptune*.

A Third relating to the fifty Sols *pour Tonneau*, and the five Shillings ditto—to the *Engliſh* Veſſels that come to load Salt,—to the ninth Article of Commerce, *&c.*—to Commiſſioners for opening of Commerce,—to the Ship the *Three Brothers* of *New-York*,—to

Dame *Lynche*,—to the Releaſe of the Priſoners in the Gallies.

Sept. 23*d.* I carried by Mr. PRIOR's Order to Mr. *Pecquet*, Diſpatches to Lord *Bolingbroke* of the 22*d*, O. S. upon ſeveral Heads, being an Anſwer to his Lordſhip's Letters of the 9*th*, the 12*th*, and the 15*th* of *September* N. S. At the ſame Time I delivered to Mr. *Pecquet* a Packet addreſſed to Mr. *Tilſon*, containing Letters from Lord *Lexington*; all which were given to a Courier of Mr. *Torcy*'s, ſent by him the ſame Day to the Duke *D'Aumont*.

N. B. Mr. *Welden*'s Papers, a Letter from the Dutcheſs of *Berry* to the Queen, Renunciations of the Chamber of *Nantz*, and a Letter from *Jenkinſon*, were incloſed in the above Letters.

Sept. 25*th.* Receiv'd from Mr. *Burch* at *Madrid*, a Letter of the 11th Inſtant, incloſing Letters for *England*.

Sept. 26*th.* Received Letters from the Lord *Bolingbroke*, dated at *Windſor-Caſtle* the 8th Inſtant, by the Way of *Dunkirk*.

This Afternoon Mr. PRIOR waited on the Elector of *Bavaria*, who went ſoon after from hence to *Compeigne*.

In the Evening Mr. PRIOR waited on Monſieur *de Torcy*, and preſented to him a Memorial relating to the delivering up to Her Majeſty's Troops, upon their Arrival at *Newfoundland*, the Town and Fort of *Placentia*.

Mr. PRIOR received from Mr. *Pecquet* an Order from Monſieur *Deſmarets* to the *Fermiers*

miers of the Cuſtom-Houſe at *Paris*, to deliver to whom Mr. PRIOR ſhould appoint, ſixteen Caſes, and a Hogſhead of Wine, without paying any Cuſtom, or ſearching of the ſaid Caſes.

Mr. PRIOR having received from Monſieur *de Torcy* a Letter from Mr. *de Pontchartrain*, under a flying Seal to Mr. *de Coſtebelle*, Governor for the King at *Placentia*, incloſing an Order from His Majeſty to the ſaid Governor, dated the 29th Inſtant, (with the Copy of the 13th Article of the Treaty of Peace) directing him to deliver up to Her Majeſty's Troops, *Placentia*, *&c.* *Sept.* 29*th.*

Mr. PRIOR writ to my Lord *Bolingbroke* thereupon, incloſing the ſaid Letter, and a Copy of his own Memorial of the 26th, to Monſieur *de Torcy*, on that Subject.

A Letter to the Lord Treaſurer, and another to the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, were ſent at the ſame Time; as alſo one to *l'Abbé Gaultier*.

Two Packets from Monſieur *de Torcy*; one to the Duke *D'Aumont*, and another to Monſieur *l'Abbé Gaultier*.

Letters from Lord *Lexington*.

About Four in the Afternoon Mr. *Barton*, one of Her Majeſty's Meſſengers, was diſpatched from hence with the Letter and Packets above-mentioned. *Sept.* 30*th.*

Mr. *Bill*, one of Her Majeſty's Meſſengers, arrived at *Fontainbleau* this Day about Eleven o'Clock, with Letters from my Lord *Bolingbroke* to Mr. PRIOR, dated at *Windſor* the 15th of *September* 1713, O. S. *Octob.* 2*d.*

Mr.

Octob. 4*th.* Mr. PRIOR gave in Treplicates of Memorials to Monſieur *de Torcy*, one concerning Mr. *Smith*, the other Mr. *Peterſon*.

Octob. 5*th.* Mr. PRIOR underſtanding by a Servant that he had ſent to Monſieur *de Torcy*, about One o'Clock, to know when he might diſcourſe with him, that Monſieur *de Torcy* was going to *Villeroy*, and would not return till the next Evening to *Fontainbleau*, immediately went to Monſieur *de Torcy*, *&c.*

Octob. 6*th.* Letters by the Way of *Dunkirk* came in from *England*, dated 18th of *September*, O. S. incloſing one to Lord *Lexington*, and another to Admiral *Jennings* at *Toulon*.

Octob. 9*th.* Mr. *Bill* was diſpatched about Three o'Clock in the Afternoon from *Fontainbleau*, with Letters to Lord *Bolingbroke*, Duke of *Shrewſbury*, Lord Treaſurer, Mr. *Gaultier*, Mr. *Shelton*, Mr. *Tilſon*, and Mr. *Hare*.

Oct. 10*th.* About ſix in the Morning Mr. PRIOR, in his own Coach and Six Horſes, ſet out from *Fontainbleau* for *Paris*, arrived at *Erton* about Eleven, ſtayed there till Four, then proceeded on his Journey, and came to *Paris* about Six in the Exening to his own Hôtel.

Mr. *Barton* arrived here about Eight on *Friday* Night, with Diſpatches from *England*, dated *September* 29, O. S. and a Plenipotentiary Power to Mr. PRIOR, to decide the Affair of *Menton* and *Roccabrun*, between the Duke of *Savoy* and the Prince of *Monaco*. At the ſame Time Mr. PRIOR was informed by my Lord *Bolingbroke*, that the Queen did not intend that he ſhould ſtay longer in *France*, and that my Lord Treaſurer would take better

Care

Care of him, and that General *Roſs* was accordingly named Envoy Extraordinary.

Mr. PRIOR went to *Croiſſy* about ſix Leagues from *Paris*, where he continued till *Saturday*, and arrived at *Paris* about Four in the Afternoon.

Gave a Paſs to *Le Sieur Pierre la Roache* * *et a la Femme, avec un Domeſtic*, to return to *London*.

Count *Nieuville*, Ambaſſador from the Grand Maſter and Order of *Malta*, ſent a Compliment to Mr. PRIOR, that though he was ſo ill that he could not pay his Duty to the King at *Fontainbleau*, he would pay a Viſit to the Queen of *Great Britain* whenever Mr. PRIOR ſhould appoint, which he prevented by going the next Day, the 17th, to viſit the Ambaſſador. His Excellency's Gentlemen were ready to receive Mr. PRIOR at the Coach; and immediately as he alighted, his Excellency met him, gave him the Hand and Honour of his Houſe, and re-conducted him to his Coach. *Sunday* the 16*th*.

Sent Letters to Lord *Bolingbroke* of the ſame Date, to the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, *&c.* by the Way of *Dunkirk*. *Oct.* 17*th*.

Mr. PRIOR diſcourſed with Mr. *Pajot* and Mr. *Frowde*, in relation to the Treaty about ſettling a Correſpondence of Letters, *&c.*

Mr. PRIOR went to *Verſailles* in the Afternoon, preſented a Memorial about *Jenkinſon*. Gave to *Thomas Thompſon* and *Ralph Bailey*, † *Sujets de S. M. la R. de la G. Bretagne*, a

* And his Wife with a Domeſtic.

† Subjects of Her Majeſty the Queen of *Great Britain*.

Paſs

Paſs to go to London. They had one from Mr. *Stanyan*, dated at *Bern* the 18th of *September*, 1713.

Oct. 19*th.* Mr. PRIOR returned from *Verſailles* in the Evening.

Oct. 20*th.* Diſpatched Mr. *Barton* to *England*, with Letters to Lord *Bolingbroke* and Lord Treaſurer.

Oct. 27*th.* Gave a Paſſport to *Richard Stow* and *John Green*, *Sujets de ſa Majeſté la Reine de la Grande Bretagne*, who brought Mr. *Stanyan*'s Paſſport, dated at *Bern* the 9th of *Oct.* 1713. They ſaid they had ſerved the Duke of *Savoy*. Gave them ten Livres.

Mr. *Elcock* the Meſſenger arrived here about Nine at Night, with Letters from the Lord *Bolingbroke*. — He ſaid, he had Letters for Lady *Jerſey*, from Lord *Bolingbroke*, and Lord *Lanſdown*.

Oct. 28*th.* Gave a Paſſport to *Terence Brady* and his Wife to go to *London*. He was taken Priſoner with *Hamilton*'s Regiment at *Marchiennes*. Colonel *Douglas* by Letter deſires Mr. PRIOR's Paſſport for him.

Oct. 29*th.* Gave a Paſſport to *Ephraim Vickaſs*, Barber to a Veſſel taken by the *French*: He was carried to *Smyrna*, and on the Publication of the Ceſſation of Arms, was permitted to go to *Leghorn*, from thence to *Toulon*; from whence he came to *Paris*, had a Paſſport from the Count *de* ——, dated the 5th Inſtant. He had alſo a printed Paſſport on Paper, on which was written, Atteſtations of the Places he had come through to *Paris*.

Diſpatched

Diſpatched Mr. *Elcock* to *England* with Letters to Lord *Bolingbroke* and Lord Treaſurer of the ſame Date. *Nov.* 1ſt.

Gave a Paſſport to *Thomas Baldwin*, who had formerly ſerved Mr. PRIOR as a Footman.

Mr. PRIOR and Mr. *Pajot* examined the Treaty for eſtabliſhing the Poſtage of Letters between *England* and *France*, and ſigned the ſame, Mr. *Frowde* being preſent: There were two Treaties in *French* and two in *Engliſh*: Mr. *Frowde* had the two *Engliſh* to get ratified in *England* by the Poſt-maſters there, which is to be done in eight Days, and one of them ſo ratified to be ſent to Mr. *Pajot*; in Lieu of which Mr. *Pajot* returns one of the Treaties in *French*, to be kept in the Poſt-Office at *London*, as that in *Engliſh* is to be kept in the Poſt-Office at *Paris*; ſo that the Poſt-maſters in *London* have one in *French* and one in *Engliſh*; and the Poſt-maſter at *Paris* has one in *Engliſh* and one in *French*. *Nov.* 2d.

Gave a Paſſport to *Robert Smith*, Eſq; and *Ralph Currice*, his Valet, to go to *London*. *Nov.* 9th.

Edward Houſan brought a Certificate from the *Marſhal* Duke of *Tallard*, that he had ſerved him faithfully two Years as Under-Huntſman, dated *November* 8, 1713, ſigned *Tallard*, and witneſſed *Harding*. He ſaid he came over with *Tallard*; upon which Mr. PRIOR gave him a Paſſport. *Nov.* 12th.

Mr. PRIOR went to Monſieur *de Torcy*'s with the Duke of *Richmond*, to preſent his Affair; and at the ſame Time preſented to Monſieur *de Torcy*, a Memorial relating to *Nov.* 16th.

Captain

Captain *Buttler*, recommended to him by the Duke of *Ormond*.

Nov. 16*th.* *Mr.* George Arbuthnot *having ſerved as Captain in Her Majeſty's Regiment of Foot, commanded by Colonel* Kane, *came to me this* 16*th Day of* November 1713, *N. S. and acquainted me that the ſaid Regiment having been broke at* Calais *in* June *laſt, he the ſaid* George Arbuthnot *is no otherwiſe provided for by the Government, than by the Half-Pay which Her Majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to allow to the Officers of the ſaid Regiment. At* Paris *the Day and Year above-written.*

M. P.

Nov. 17*th.* Gave a Paſs to Mr. *Philemon Pownol*, to go to *London*.

Nov. 17*th.* Gave a Paſs to *William Smith*, a *Hampſhire* Man, who came from *Geneva*, being ſet aſhore there in his Paſſage to *Smyrna* on Board a Merchantman, the Sea not agreeing with him—the Ship named the *London Merchant*. He continued there five Months. Gave him five Livres.

Nov. 18*th.* Gave a Paſs to *John Smith* of *New-York*, concerned in the Ship the *Three Brothers* of that Country, to go to *London*.

Nov. 19*th.* Gave a Paſs to *William Everet*, who came from *Dunkirk*; being diſcharged from the Regiment of Colonel *Diſney*, at his the ſaid *Everet*'s Requeſt, the 29th of *July* 1713. He came to *Paris* with one *William Deſrom*, a Dancing-maſter, who had a Paſſport for himſelf

himſelf and ſix Others, from the Earl of *Athlone* dated at *Mons* the 1ſt of *October* 1713.

The Secretary of the Envoy of the King of *Sicily*, came with *le Sieur St. Iſpoliſe* to preſent him to Mr. PRIOR, and to deſire for the ſaid * Mr. *Iſpoliſe* a Paſſport to go to *London*. He produced a Paſſport ſigned by Mr. *Chetwynd*, the 5th of *September* 1713, for his paſſing from *Turin* to *France*, and from thence to *England*. The ſaid Paſſport was ſigned this Day by Mr. PRIOR, for his going to *England* accordingly. *Nov. 27th.*

Duke *D'Aumont* arrived here on *Saturday* the 25th Inſtant, and went to *Verſailles* the next Day the 26th. *Nov. 25th.*

The Earl of *Peterborough* arrived here on *Sunday* Evening the 26th Inſtant. As did Admiral *Jennings*, who took up his Lodgings in the ſame Hôtel as Mr. PRIOR. *Nov. 26th.*

Monday Morning about Nine Mr. PRIOR went in his own Coach and Six with Admiral *Jennings* to the Earl of *Peterborough*'s, to the Hôtel *Modene*, where about Ten the Duke *D'Aumont* arrived as he had promiſed my Lord *Peterborough*. Mr. PRIOR and Admiral *Jennings*, upon his Arrival, went down Stairs, received him at the Gate, and went in his Coach to *Verſailles*, where they arrived about Eleven, and deſcended at his Hôtel there; and ſoon after, the Duke *D'Aumont* went to Monſieur *de Torcy*'s, and the Lord *Peterborough* to the Duke's Lodgings in the Chateau. Mr. PRIOR at the ſame Time went *Dec. 4th.*

* Colonel in Her Majeſty's Service, and Adjutant-General to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *Savoy*.

alſo

alſo to Monſieur *de Torcy*'s. The Admiral followed my Lord *Peterborough* about an Hour after his Lordſhip came to Monſieur *de Torcy*'s. His Lordſhip, Mr. PRIOR, and Admiral *Jennings*, dined with Monſieur *de Torcy*; as did alſo the Duke *D'Aumond*, Mareſchal *Theſſé*, Mareſchal *Tallard*, the Cardinal *de Polignac*, and ſeveral others, Perſons of Diſtinction. About Five the ſame Afternoon, his Lordſhip had an Audience of the King in his Cloſet, introduced thereto by the Marquis *de Torcy*, Mr. PRIOR being preſent. After which the Duke *D'Aumont* preſented Admiral *Jennings* to His Majeſty, who received him very graciouſly; told him he was glad to ſee a Man who had gained ſo great a Reputation in Maritime Affairs; that as Her Majeſty had deſervedly promoted him for theſe Services, he doubted not but he would dedicate the reſt of his Life to the Service of ſo good a Miſtreſs. Admiral *Jennings* not ſpeaking *French*, the King deſired Mr. PRIOR to tell him in *Engliſh* what he ſaid; which Mr. PRIOR did accordingly: About Seven the ſame Evening the Earl of *Peterborough* returned to *Paris*, as did Mr. PRIOR the next Day in the Evening: The Admiral ſtaying at *Verſailles*, being invited by the Count *Toulouſe* to Supper with him.

Dec. 6*th.* My Lord *Peterborough* went to *Verſailles* about Noon, and Mr. PRIOR dined at *Paris* with Mr. *Amiſon* and Monſieur * *d' Iberville.*

* Appointed Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of *Great Britain.*

Mr.

Mr. *Elcock*, one of Her Majeſty's Meſſen- *Dec.* 6*th.*
gers, arrived here on *Wedneſday* Afternoon about Five o'Clock, with Letters from *England*, dated the 19th of *November* 1713. He left *England* on *Friday* laſt. Anſwered the ſaid Letters, and ſent them by Admiral *Jennings* the 7th.

Mr. PRIOR went with Lord *Peterborough* *Dec.* 9*th.*
to *Verſailles*.

I ſent Captain *Padden*'s Letter to Mr. *Burch* *Dec.* 10*th.*
mentioned in Mr. *Tilray*'s of the 20th of *November*.

My Lord *Peterborough* about Noon went *Dec.* 14*th.*
from *Paris* in his Way to * *Sicily*.

Mr. *Elcock* was diſpatched about Seven in *Dec.* 15*th.*
the Morning with Letters to Lord *Bolingbroke* and Lord Treaſurer, *&c.*

By a Letter from Mr. *Burch* without Date, *Dec.* 17*th.*
he adviſes that my Lord *Lexington* left *Madrid* the 28th of *November* 1713, to return by the Way of *Lisbon* to *England*.

Mr. *Barton* arrived about Ten this Morn- *Dec.* 19*th.*
ing with Letters from Lord *Bolingbroke*, dated at *Windſor* the 2d of *December* 1713, N. S. And about Twelve Mr. PRIOR went to *Verſailles*, gave in a Copy of a Memorial relating to the *Galeriens* preſented by the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, and another from himſelf for others; and before his Departure went to Monſieur *Pontchartrain*, gave in two Memorials, that of Captain *Burnaby*'s and of the Ship *Plymouth*.

Barton brought with him from the Poſt-Maſter-General, *The Treaty for the Correſ-*

* His Lordſhip was going Ambaſſador thither.

pondence of Letters between France *and* Great Britain: Signed by Mr. *Pajot* and Mr. PRIOR the 2d Day of *December*, N. S. at *Paris*, 1713. Ratified by the ſaid Poſt-Maſter in the Words following, *viz.*

'We, Sir *Thomas Frankland*, Baronet, 'and Sir *John Evelyn*, Baronet, Poſt-Maſters-'General of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, and 'of all other the Dominions of Her Majeſty 'of *Great Britain*, and General of all the 'Couriers and Poſts, having read and con-'ſidered the Articles of Agreement in a 'Treaty made and concluded on the Second 'Day of *November*, N. S. in the Year of 'our Lord 1713. between the Honourable 'MATTHEW PRIOR, Eſq; Miniſter and 'Plenipotentiary of the Queen of *Great* 'Britain to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, as 'having Power and Procuration from us on 'the one Part, and *Lewis Pajot*, Count 'of *Onſenbray*, Lord of *Villers*, St. *Aubus*, '*du Vauroux*, and other Places, Comptrol-'ler-General of the Poſts of *France*, as hav-'ing Commiſſion and Power from M. *John* '*Baptiſt Colbert*, Chevalier, Marquis of *Tor-'cy*, *Croiſſy*, *Sable*, *Bris*, *Dauphiné*, and o-'ther Places, Miniſter and Secretary of State, 'and of the Commands of his moſt Chriſtian 'Majeſty, Commander and Superintendant-'General of the Poſts and Couriers of *France*, 'on the other Part, for eſtabliſhing the good 'Correſpondency and Intelligence between 'the Kingdoms of *Great Britain* and *France*, 'as to the Intercourſe of the Poſts; do upon 'full Satisfaction of the Contents of the ſaid 'Treaty,

'Treaty, contained in one and twenty Arti-
'cles in *Engliſh* afore-written, ratify and con-
'firm all and every the Articles and Clauſes
'therein contained. General Poſt-Office,
'*London*, *November* 17th, 1713.

THO. FRANKLAND,
JOHN EVELYN.

Mr. PRIOR went to Mr. *Pajot* this Morning, and exchanged with him the Treaty abovementioned, for that in *French*, intitled, *Traité pour la Correſpondence des Lettres entre la Grande Bretagne et la France.* The Ratification of the ſaid Treaty was ſigned at *Paris* by Monſieur *de Torcy*, the 9th of *November*, 1713. *Dec.* 22*d.*

COLBERT DE TORCY.

The Poſt-Maſters tranſmitted Bills to Mr. *Pajot* for 19473 Livres 14 Sols, towards the Diſcharge of the Debt due to him from the *Poſt-Office*, *London*.

N. B. Mr. *Barton* was diſpatched to *England* the 25th Day, in the Evening, with Letters to Lord *Bolingbroke*, Lord-Treaſurer, and Lady *Maſham*, —and carried with him the aforeſaid Treaty in *French*, for the Poſt-Maſters at *London*, and a Letter from Mr. *Pajot* to the ſaid Poſt-Maſters.

This Day Mr. PRIOR had a private Audience of his Majeſty in his Cloſet, introduced by the Marquis *de Torcy*, upon the Subject of the Letters brought by Mr. *Barton*; the Sub- *Dec.* 23*d.*

ſtance of which will be found in Mr PRIOR's * Letter to Lord *Bolingbroke* of the 25th Inſtant.

Jan. 5*th.* 1714. About ſix in the Evening *Jonathan* was diſpatched to *England*, with Letters to Lord Treaſurer, Lord *Bolingbroke*, Mr. *d'Iberville*, Monſieur *Gaultier*, and other private Letters, and Truffles for the Queen.

This Day Mr. PRIOR gave a Bill of 4000 Livres upon *Tourton*, for the preſent, to M. *Breteuil* and Mr. *Saintot*. — *Remember to ask Mr.* Ganré *for the Receipts Mr.* PRIOR *gave him for the ſaid Money, as alſo for what was given to Mr.* Merlin, *Secretary to the Introductors*, &c.

Jan. 9*th.* 1714. Receiv'd a Letter from the Poſt-Maſter-General of *London*, dated the 24th of *December*, O. S. acknowledging the Receipt of the Counterpart of the Ratification aforementioned, ſigned by Monſieur *Torcy*, for the Eſtabliſhment of the Correſpondence of Letters, ſignifying that the Pacquet-Boat ſettled is to go every *Monday* and *Thurſday* to *Calais*, to bring the Mail ſent from *Paris*.

N. B. The Letters go from *Paris* to *Calais* *Wedneſday* Morning Eight of the Clock, and *Saturday* Morning, *ditto*.

Mr *Barton* arrived here with Letters from my Lord *Bolingbroke* this Evening, dated at *Windſor* the 29th of *December*.

The next Day Letters from *England* came in by the Poſt, and brought one (amongſt others) from Mr. *Wace*, of Mr. Secretary

* This Letter is not among the Papers.

Brom-

Bromley's Office, incloſing one by Mr. *Lewis*'s Order, to the great Maſter of *Malta*, from the Queen.

Mr. PRIOR was pleaſed to go to the Miniſter here from *Malta*, to deliver the ſaid Letter himſelf; but the Ambaſſador not being at home, he was pleaſed to ſend *Driſt* on *Monday* the 22d, in his Coach, with four Servants, who preſented the ſaid Letter with his Compliments to the Ambaſſador. *Jan.* 20*th.*

Mr. *Barton* was diſpatched to *London*, with Letters for Lord *Bolingbroke*, and Lord Treaſurer; and he departed from hence about 5 in the Morning. *Feb* 4*th.*

Gave a Paſs to *Peter Sampſon*, of the Iſle of *Jerſey*, to go to *London*. ----He was here about a Ship loaden with Coals from that Iſland, which was condemned for having one Pound fourteen Ounces of Tobacco on board. ---Mr. PRIOR was pleaſed to give in ſeveral Memorials for the Relief of the ſaid *Sampſon*, and to have the Ship ſet at Liberty. Monſieur *Deſmarets* woud do little in it. *Feb.* 5*th.*

Gave a Paſs to *John Saunders*, who produced a Paſſport, ſigned by Mr. *Stanyan* at *Bern* the 15th Day of *January*, 1714, and counter-ſigned by *L. Schaub*. *Feb.* 11*th.*

Mr. *Barton* arrived at *Verſailles* this Day, about two in the Afternoon, with Letters from Lord *Bolingbroke* and Lord Treaſurer. *Feb.* 13*th.*

Mr. *Frederick Sadier*, Engraver, who came from *England* in King *Charles* IId's Time, and has been many Years in *Paris*, deſiring to return to *England* with one of his Sons, Mr. PRIOR ſpoke to Monſieur *de Torcy* about it the 13th; and the 15th Mr. PRIOR was pleaſed *Feb.* 15*th.*

ed to give him his Paſſport, bearing date the ſame Day, for him and his Son *Henry*. He has a Wife here of the North of *Ireland*; her Name is *Margaret Sadier*; and a Son, *Frederick*.

Feb. 27th. Gave a Paſſport to Mr. *John Burnably*, to go to *London*.

Mar. 3d. Gave a Paſſport to Colonel *John Leckner*, to go to *Port Mahone*, to his Regiment there ----*Paſſer a Port Mahon*,——*dans l'Iſle de Minorque, le Sieur Jean Leckner Anglois, Col. d'un Regiment de la Reine a preſent ſur cette Iſle.*

Mar. 5th. Gave a Certificate to Mr. *George Arbuthnot*, *Mutatis mutandis*, the ſame as that of the 16th of *November*, 1712, the Date only changed to this Day.

On Mr. PRIOR's writing a Letter to the Baron *de Breteuil*, to have Meat during Lent, at the *Hôtel de Dieu*, the Introductor ſent him the Order in the Words following, *viz.*

* *Nous Baron de Breteuil et de Preuilly, premier Baron de Touraine, Conſeiller du Roy en ſes Conſeilles, Introducteur des Ambaſſadeurs et Princes Etrangers aupres de ſa Majeſté, enjoignons au Boucher de l'Hôtel Dieu de fournir*

* In *Engliſh*: "We the Baron of *Breteuil* and *Preuilly*, "firſt Baron of *Tourain*, Councillor to the King in his "Councils, Introductor of Ambaſſadors and Foreign Prin- "ces to his Majeſty, enjoin the Butcher of the *Hôtel* "*Dieu* to furniſh during Lent, at the Market Price eſta- "bliſhed by the King's Order, all Sorts of Butcher's "Meat that ſhall be neceſſary for the Subſiſtence of the "Family of Mr. PRIOR, Plenipotentiary from the Queen "of *Great Britain*. Given at *Paris* the 6th Day of "*March*, 1714."

pen-

pendant le Careſme au Prix Ordinaire, ſuivant l'Ordre du Roy, toute la Viande de Boucherie et Rotiſſerie qui ſera neceſſaire pour la Subſiſtance de la Maiſon de Monſieur PRIOR, *Plenipotentiare de la Reine de la Grand Bretagne. Fait a Paris le ſixieme Jour de Mars,* 1714.

LE BARON DE BRETEUIL.

Par Man. de Seigneur. DE CERNY.

Gave a Paſſport to *Thomas Hulſe* of *Nantwich*, in the County of *Cheſter*, to return to *England*. *Mar.* 11*th.*

Mr. *Barton* was diſpatched to *London*, with an Account of the Peace being ſigned between the Emperor and his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. *Mar.* 13*th.*

Mr. PRIOR went this Afternoon to *St. Claude*, to the Elector of *Bavaria*, who has a Houſe there, to congratulate him upon the Peace; as all the Miniſters of *France*, and the Ambaſſadors and Envoys of Foreign Miniſters have done. *Mar.* 16*th.*

Gave a Paſſport to *Joſeph Harriſon*, a *Staffordſhire* Man, and Buckle-Maker, to go to *London* about his Trade. He came into *France* during the laſt Peace. *Mar.* 20*th.*

Mr. *Henry Villiers* went from hence this Morning with Mr. *Rowland Bright*, who came from the Lord *Bolingbroke* hither for him. They both had Mr. PRIOR's Paſſport; Mr. *Hayward* the Meſſenger, and *Jonathan* Mr. PRIOR's Servant, accompanying them. *Mar.* 24*th.*

Mar. 23*d.* Gave a Paſſport to *Mary Robinſon*, *Mary Shinn*, *Francis Willington*, *Mark Mold*, and *Robert Ratborn*, a Child, (of the Company of Rope-Dancers) to go to *England*.

Mar. 27*th.* Gave two Paſſports, dated this Day, to *Thomas Loving*, *John Rinet*, *Charles Freemin*, *Gilles Pillon*, *Anthony Fouché*, *Gilles Blanchat*, *Dennis Raullet*, *Jacques Maſon*, *Charles Gallet*, and *Thomas Lucas* of the Iſle of *Jerſey*, who ſailed from thence in the Ship *Pierre*, bound to *Leghorn*: They were caſt away on the Coaſt of *Provence*. They brought a Paſſport from the Governor there, Mr. *Jonville*, dated the 3d Inſtant, ſignifying their having been caſt away on the ſame Coaſt———Gave them thirty Livres.

Mar. 31*ſt.* Gave a Paſſport to *William Wagſtaff*, a Servant to Mr. *Banis*, and brought over with him from *England*. Dr. *Lidderal* ſpoke in his Favour; and a Servant of the Duke of *Richmond* came to deſire that he might have the Paſſport, the ſaid *William* being to go away the next Day, the 2d of *April*, 1714.

Mar. 31*ſt.* Gave a Paſſport to *Richard Hunter* and *Mary Burgeſs*, Servants to the Right Honourable the Counteſs of *Jerſey*, to return to *London*, dated this Day.

April 2*d.* Gave a Paſſport, dated this Day, to *Jean Cabot*, *Thomas Lauine*, *Martin Couſin*, *Jean le Ber*, *Jacques Jardin*, and *George Garnier*, ſix Matelots of the ſame Crew abovementioned, caſt away in the Ship *Peter*, as abovementioned.

April 6*th.* Gave a Paſſport to *Frederick Sadier*, and *Margaret* his Wife, and to *Frederick* and *Henry*

Henry, and their Servant Maid, to go to *England*. *Vide* the 15th of *February* foregoing.

Mr. *Bill* the Meſſenger arrived here in the Evening, with Letters from Lord *Bolingbroke*, dated the 21ſt of *April*, O. S. *May 5th.*

Gave a Paſſport to *Gervais Road*, born at *Stepney*, who was caſt away the 18th of *February*, 1714, on board the Ship *Victory*, Captain *Miller* Commander, at *Roſar*, within ten Leagues of *Naples*, coming from *Smyrna* to *Leghorn* with Silks. *May 11th.*

Gave a Paſſport to Mr. *Chriſtopher Kane* and his Wife, two Footmen and a Maid Servant.

Mr. *Barton* was diſpatched from hence about Five of the Clock this Afternoon. *May 12th.*

Mr. *Smith* arrived the ſame Evening. *Barton* returned with him from *St. Dennis*, and ſet out the next Morning early, the 13th, for *England*.

Mr. *Bill* was diſpatched to *England*. *May 15th.*

Mr. PRIOR went to Monſieur *Amelot*. Monſieur *Lecheraine*, and Monſieur *Bernardin* were there; and had a Conference concerning *Menton* and *Rocabrun*. *May 22d.*

Gave a Paſſport to *Charles Goſet*, *Jean Gallet*, *Nicholas Fillet*, *Pierre Chatelair*, *Jacques Jourdain*, *Richard l'Anglois*, *et Jean la Foſſe*, Matelots of the Iſle of *Jerſey*. They were caſt away in the Ship *Pelegrin*, commanded by *James du Doit*, on the Coaſt of *Provence*, the 25th of *April*. *May 24th.*

On *Sunday* I went in Mr. PRIOR's Coach and ſix Horſes, with all his Equipage, to the *Maiſon de Rambouillet*, to pay his Compliment *May 27th.*

to

to Mr. *Goſlinge* and *de Buis*, Ambaſſadors from the States, it being the Day of their Entry.

Mr. *Barton* was diſpatched at Nine at Night to *England*.

June 5th. Gave a Paſſport to ——*Conſtantin, Jacques Gardin, Jacques Rabaſte, Jean Pontois, Pierre Cordy, Antoine Rabaſte, Jacques Nicou, Pierre Queripet, tous de l'Iſle de Jerſey, et Sujets de ſa Majeſté*, &c. They were caſt away *au travers du Cape de Gate*, going to *Alicant* about *a la Coſte d'Eſpagne*, &c.

June 6th. Gave a Paſſport to *John Laas* born in *Petty-France, Weſtminſter*, Mariner, who was caſt away in the Ship *May-Flower*, Captain *Norton* Commander, in the Iſland of *Scilly*. He produced a Paſſport from *Tho. Chamberlaine*, Conſul at *Meſſina*, dated the 14th of *January*, 1714.

June 13th. Mr. *Dagley* the Meſſenger was diſpatched this Day about Five in the Afternoon.

June 15th. Gave a Paſſport to Captain *James Smith* and his Servant, a Negroe, to go to *London*. He was naturalized at *Antegoa*, in 1699. The Enrolment was made the 30th of *Auguſt* the ſame Year. Signed *Thomas Nichols* Secretary.

July 25th. *Reijnier Beukers*, of the Town of *Utrecht*, deſiring Mr. PRIOR's Paſſport to go to *London*, and producing one from M. *de Buys*, the *Dutch* Ambaſſador, ſigned and dated at *Paris* the 8th of *June*, 1714. Mr. PRIOR was thereupon pleaſed to give him his Paſſport accordingly.

Aug. 11th. Gave a Paſſport to *Daniel Dounel*, aged thirty Years, who came from *Ireland* in *January* laſt, to go to *Montpelier* to ſtudy Phyſic; but falling ill whilſt he was in *France*, he

he was obliged to return to his own Country for the Recovery of his Health. — *Paſſer a Havre, et de la en Irland.*

This Paſſport was given upon Sir *Richard*'s Certificate, incloſed in a Letter to me of the 11th Inſtant.

The Lord *Peterborough* went this Morning to *England.* *Aug.* 14*th.*

Mr. PRIOR had an Audience of the King, wherein, among other Things, he announced the Death of her Majeſty. *Aug.* 20*th.*

The Queen died on *Sunday* Morning at *Kenſington*, a little after Seven of the Clock, in the fiftieth Year of her Age, and the 13th of her Reign, 1714.

Barton was diſpatched to the King at *Hanover*, with a Letter from Mr. PRIOR. *Aug.* 20*th.*

Beekles the Meſſenger arrived with Letters from Lord *Bolingbroke.* *Aug.* 21*ſt.*

Gave a Paſſport to *Walter Hayley*, who came from *England* by Order of the Lord *Burlington*, with two *Iriſh* Wolf-Dogs and a Bitch, for M. *de la Fayl*, Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to the King of *France.* *Aug.* 24*th.*

Diſpatched Mr. *Dagley* to *England*, with Letters for Lord *Bolingbroke*, about Two in the Afternoon. *Aug.* 23*d.*

Gave a Paſſport to *Thomas Pordrie*, *Jean Lateur*, *Charles Vivien*, *Gilles Cobie*, *Jean Laterre*, *Charles Bingote*, *Denis Goron*, *Gilles Nichol*, *Pierre Bargnet*, *Antoine Raſtel*, *Jacques Wilſon*, *et Thomas Croquert*; all belonging to *Southampton.* They were caſt away in the Ship *Mermaid*, near the Iſles of *Gnores*, in the *Streights.* She belonged to *Southampton*, was loaded *Aug.* 29*th.*

loaded there with dry Fiſh, and bound to *Leghorn*, Captain *Wilſon* Commander.

Sept. 4th. Mr. *Barton* arrived her about Seven in the Evening from *Hanover*, with Letters from His Majeſty.

Oct. 23d. 1714. Mr. PRIOR preſented a Memorial, requiring that the Canal and the new Works at *Mardyke* ſhould be demoliſhed.

End of the Journal.

The Earl of *Stairs* ſucceeds Mr. PRIOR.

The next Day after Mr. PRIOR had preſented the Memorial above-mentioned, the Earl of *Stairs* was appointed to go and ſucceed him at the Court of *France*. His Lordſhip went over, but did not take upon him the Title of Ambaſſador till ſome time after, on Account of the Works erected at *Mardyke*, and ſome other Differences between the two Courts. We find however, from what was obſerved concerning the Payment of his Arrears, that Mr. PRIOR had not the Character of a public Miniſter longer than the firſt of *December* this Year: About which Time, in all Appearance, Lord *Stairs* took Poſſeſſion of all his Papers that were then to be found: There being no Queſtion but he had, before this, ſecured thoſe that might have injured himſelf, or any of his Friends. For the violent Proceedings of the new Miniſtry, againſt all who had any Concern in the late Negotiations, were ſufficient to put him on his Guard, and make him expect the Storm that ſoon after followed.

Mr.

Mr. PRIOR ſeems to have laboured under ſome Difficulties, even before the Queen's Death, on Account of the ill Payment of his Salary: And after the late King's Acceſſion, he made ſuch Repreſentations on that Head, as procured the following Letter from his old Collegue the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, who ſucceeded the Earl of *Oxford* in the Place of Lord Treaſurer.

Mr. PRIOR applies for the Payment of his Arrears.

To Mr. PRIOR *at* Paris.

October 4th, 1714.

SIR,

'THO' I have been ſilent, I have never 'neglected your Concerns. When my 'Lord *Oxford* quitted the Staff, he had or-'dered ſome Money for you, and ſeveral o-'thers, to the Value of ſixty or ſeventy thou-'ſand Pound. Thoſe who were to ſucceed 'him, got Her Majeſty before her Illneſs, to 'defer the giving out, or ſatisfying thoſe 'Orders, till they ſhould be further conſider-'ed. After her Majeſty's Death, I could 'iſſue no Money of that Nature, without a 'Sign Manual from the Lords Juſtices, who 'reaſonably declined any Diſtribution of Mo-'ney, but what directly tended to the pre-'ſerving the Peace in *Britain*.

Duke of *Shrewsbury* to Mr. PRIOR.

'Since His Majeſty's Arrival, I have ſeveral 'Times mentioned to him the Difficulties 'and Hardſhips you lie under. He ſeems 'very juſtly and favourably to enter into 'them; but as your Arrears are a Part of Her

'late

'late Majeſty's Debts, and they very conſi-
'derable; tho' I have good Reaſon to believe
'what was due to the Queen at Her De-
'miſe, will more than pay that Debt; yet
'the King is deſirous to ſee a State of that
'Matter before he begins to pay; which could
'not be done immediately; and is, I think,
'the only Cauſe which delays the Diſpatch of
'your Affair. I am ſo ſenſible of the Diffi-
'culties you lie under upon this Account,
'that if I had power to remedy them, they
'ſhould ſoon be removed: And I make no
'doubt but when His Majeſty has gone thro'
'theſe Forms he has preſcribed himſelf, Juſ-
'tice will be done you.'

The Treaſury being again new-modelled, and Lord *Halifax*, another old Friend of Mr. PRIOR's, appointed firſt Commiſſioner, Mr. PRIOR was obliged to make freſh Application for the Payment of what was due to him, that he might be enabled to return home with Honour. None of his Letters on this Occaſion are to be found among his Papers; but in a Letter from Lord *Halifax* to him, dated *December* the 2d, 1714, is the following Paſſage.

Lord *Halifax* to Mr. PRIOR.

'I read your Letter to the King, and did
'not omit doing you all the Good I could. The
'King has ordered you ſhould be paid the Al-
'lowance of a Plenipotentiary from the firſt
'of *Auguſt* to the firſt of *December*, together
'with a Bill of Extraordinaries, amounting
'in the Whole to 1176 Pounds. And the Bills
'that were due in the Queen's Time, will be
'paid in Courſe, out of the Queen's Arrears.'

But

But the Miniſtry were in no haſte to make Mr. PRIOR eaſy, ſince it appears that he was not ſo on the 7th of *February*, 1714-15, when he received two Letters on the ſame Subject, one from Mr. Secretary *Stanhope*, and the other from the Earl of *Halifax*. In the Secretary's were the following Words.

Secretary *Stanhope* to Mr. PRIOR.

'I repreſented to his Majeſty in Council, 'that it would be impoſſible for you to return 'home, unleſs you were enabled to pay your 'Debts: Upon which his Majeſty has been 'pleaſed to direct, that your Demands, as 'ſtated to my Lord *Halifax*, be complied 'with: And accordingly I have ſignified his 'Majeſty's Pleaſure thereupon to Lord *Hali-* '*fax*, who I am perſuaded will be pleaſed 'to ſerve you.'

His Lordſhip's Letter runs thus;

Lord *Halifax* to Mr. PRIOR.

'It is with great Pleaſure that I can now 'let you know, that upon reading my Lord '*Stair* his Letter, giving an Account of your 'Readineſs to obey his Majeſty's Orders, the 'King has directed us to pay you 2408 'Pounds, for the two Bills of Extraordina- 'ries which you demanded; which, together 'with what is due to you yet, on your ordi- 'nary Allowance, ſhall be diſpatched with all 'the Favour and Civility we can ſhew you. 'It will be a great Pleaſure to me in particu- 'lar, to haſten your Return from an unhap- 'py and uneaſy Station, to your own Coun- 'try and Friends, in which Number I de- 'ſire you will rank me. I am, &c.

This

Mr PRIOR returns to *England*, and is taken into Custody.

This Money being remitted, and Mr. PRIOR having discharged the Demands that were on him at *Paris*, he returned to *England* in the Month of *March*. Upon his Arrival, on the 25th of that Month, he was taken up by an Order of the House of Commons, and committed into the Hands of a Messenger: And on the first of *April*, he underwent a strict Examination before a Committee of the Privy-Council; the Account of which he thus introduces.

'The severest Article against the Inquisition, is, that those who are called before it, 'are not allowed a Copy of their Indictment, 'but must themselves divine the Cause why 'they are imprisoned. I was called before 'the Secret Committe, and sworn by Mr. 'Justice *Boscawen* to no particular Indictment; 'the Committee, on the contrary, assuring 'me I was not accused of any Crime: The 'Secretary of State assuring the Committee, 'that by the King's Order, what I should say 'should no way affect me. After which 'they proceeded to a wild Examination, not 'only of what I had transacted as Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary for three Years before, but of what I might have any ways 'known or heard of; what the Earl of *Oxford*, 'the Lord *Bolingbroke*, and others, concern-'in Her Majesty's Affairs, had acted.'

What

What passed at Mr. PRIOR's Examination, before a Committee of the Privy-Council.

Drawn up by HIMSELF.

IN outward Appearance, they were all very civil; set me a Chair equal to the Table where they sat, and next to Secretary *Stanhope*, who had the Books and Papers of the Secretary's Office before him. Mr. *Walpole* the Chairman said little more than mere Compliment. Mr. *Lechmere*, with great Industry, hid from me, and often himself looked into Papers in Folio, unbound, and covered with a blue Sheet. I did not then know what they were, but during the Examination, I perceived it was the Report then printed, and in some few Days after published. He began with an affected Eloquence, that as I had served in a very high Employment, and with very great Applause, the Committee relied upon my Candour and Probity: That as what they asked me was for the King's Service, so what I answered would be for my own Honour. After this some of them began with several vague Questions: What I knew of the Negotiation? How long I had been acquainted with the Abbé *Gaultier?* If the Propositions came first from

France, or if we ſent them? And deſired me to give them an Account of whatever I could of that whole Matter; which, it ſeems, they thought I was ſo ready to do, that ſome of them took their Pens and Paper, as if I were to begin a Sermon, and they to take ſhort Notes.

I ſaid, That as I had always acted abroad by the Authority of the Crown of *England*, and had, in Obedience to the King's Commands, given up all the Memorials and Papers which related to that Part of the Peace in which I had a Share, I was deſirous to anſwer the Honourable Committee (before whom I underſtood ſuch Papers were) in every Thing that might help to explain them: That my Books were already before them; and, as I had already written to Mr. Secretary *Stanhope*, thoſe Books muſt even ſpeak for themſelves. The Committee ſeemed to acquieſce in my Anſwer. Lord *Con.** whiſpered the Chairman, and ſaid, No, we will begin with the Money.

The Committee then deſired to know what Money I drew from the Treaſury in 1711, when I went into *France*. I anſwered, Two hundred Pounds; and, as I remembered, that was the Sum. I had either Credit from Mr. *Clifford*, on his Correſpondent, or from Monſieur *Cantillon*: I could not well remember which, it being now four Years ſince. Had you theſe Bills, ſome of them ſaid, from my Lord Treaſurer? I replied, No. They asked me, Was it by his Order? I ſaid, I hoped there was no Occaſion for a Reply to that Queſtion. I preſumed it would be found, as other Money expended on the like Occaſion, by Direction of the Sovereign. I found they were not

* *Coningsby.*

pleaſed

pleaſed with this Anſwer. *Wal.* ſaid, Will you think a little of the Method in which this Examination is to proceed? And Mr. PRIOR will be pleaſed in the mean Time to retire a little.

When I was called in again, the ſame Queſtion was asked me, and the ſame Anſwer returned. I added, That I well hoped thoſe Sums, and ſeveral others of much greater Importance, were paid: That otherwiſe, for want of Knowledge in the Crown Laws, I ſhould find myſelf a Beggar; and from an Hôtel at *Paris*, might ſpend the reſt of my Days in the Counter: And here I addreſſed myſelf to Mr. *Stanhope*, as to what I had writ to him concerning my Debts. He ſaid, That nothing of all this concerned me. *P.* I muſt apply myſelf to you upon another Head. I muſt own myſelf unexperienced in the Method of Parliament; I have no Papers by me; I have no Council; for want of Memory or Judgment I may err; and tho', Gentlemen, I am accuſed of nothing, I know not but that I may accuſe myſelf through Inadvertency or Miſtake.

Here Mr. *Stanhope* roſe up, and told the Committee, That he had the King's particular Direction, that whatever I ſaid to them, or they to the Houſe of Commons, ſhould not be of any Prejudice to myſelf. I took a Sheet of Paper, which lay before me, and wrote this down, as I did what they had already ſaid to me. Here, after they had whiſpered, and ſome even ſeparated themſelves from the Table to confer in a Corner of the Room, the Chairman told me I might withdraw; which I did, leaving the Notes I had taken upon the Table.

When I was called in again, I found their Civility much abated, and the Battery quite chang-

ed. The moſt confuſed Queſtions were put to me, upon ſeveral Heads backward and forward, by *Lech.* and *Boſc.* and *Con.* (the two firſt of whom I think underſtood not one Word of what they were ſaying). *Con.* at length prevailed. Mr. PRIOR, you were ſent out that you might have Time to recollect more particularly upon whom you had Credit, when my Lord of *Oxford* ſent you into *France*. *P.* I have great Reſpect to the Earl of *Oxford*; but he never ſent me into *France*. And turning to Mr. Secretary *Stanhope*, who had the Books of the Office of 1711 in his Hand, I ſaid, That as I had the Honour to be ſent into *France* by the Queen's eſpecial Appointment and immediate Direction, I preſumed the Copy of my Powers were to be found in the Books before him*. He turning to it, Mr. PRIOR, is this the Copy of your Inſtructions? *P.* I believe it is; but to give the Committee no further Trouble on this Head, I am ready either now, or any other Time, to produce the Original, as I think it may tend to my Service. Being asked of whom I received Money in *France*? I anſwered, Of Monſieur *Cantillon*. *Boſc.* Was he not a Papiſt? *P.* Elſe, Sir, he could not have been a Banker at *Paris*, which he had been for ſeveral Years before I knew him. In one Word, he was the common Banker to whom the *Engliſh* addreſſed themſelves, and I think *Clifford* of *Amſterdam* was his Correſpondent. *Stan.* and *Wal.* I found frowning and nodding at each other, and extremely aſhamed at this vile Stuff.

Being ſent out, and called in again, I found the Thunder broke out. *Wal.* referred it to *Stan.*

* Vide the Report, Fol.o 3.

to

to ſpeak. *Stan.* The Committee are not ſatisfied with your Behaviour to them. I have already told you, that the Lords above, and the Committee here, have taken notice that they find a conſtant Correſpondence on your Side to Lord Treaſurer, but no Anſwers from him; whereas all your Letters from Lord *Bolingbroke* are entire, and commonly in their right Order. Some of thoſe indeed are miſſing. The whole Committee ecchoed the ſame Thing. *P.* I was told ſome Hours ſince, by this Honourable Committee, that I ſhould be aſked nothing that might prejudice myſelf. I am a good deal confuſed; I have no Council; and with great Reſpect, I look upon this to be a downright Accuſation of myſelf, as if I ſhould have held any Correſpondence I was unwilling to declare. I muſt refer myſelf to you in this Point, Mr. *Stanhope.* The Letters that we receive, when abroad, from the Secretaries of State, we keep, copying our Anſwers to them, both which juſtify our acting according to our Orders ſent us; and I preſume it will be found that my Letters, which you have in your own Keeping, anſwer thoſe written to me by the Secretaries of State under whoſe Departments I acted; which Letters you have likewiſe. You have alſo the Letters I have wrote to the Lord Treaſurer in my Books, at leaſt thoſe of them that related to the public Affair, and conſequently were worth keeping. I did not, nor could I expect a conſtant Correſpondence from him. What I wrote was for his Information; what Uſe his Lordſhip made of that Information, I had reaſon to preſume was for the Queen's Service; and the Anſwers and Directions to me were to come by the Secretary of State. *Commit.* It is very ſtrange that not above two or three Letters

ſhould appear from my Lord Treaſurer. Did he not write more to you? *P.* He writ to me ſeveral Times, and I obeyed his Commands intimated to me therein. Thoſe Commands performed, the Letters were of no Uſe, and I no more kept them, than I did Letters received from other Noblemen, the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Halifax*, Lord *Harcourt*, then Lord Chancellor, *&c.* They related no otherwiſe to the Negotiation, than in commending me, aſſuring me that he repreſented my Services to the Queen in a right Light, and wiſhing a ſpeedy End to the Negotiation, that I might come home to him.

I was ſent out again, and recalled; was asked how many Letters I might in all have received from my Lord Treaſurer, and what was the Subſtance of any of them. *P.* As to the Number, I cannot particularly tell: I received a Letter from him ſometimes of five, ſometimes of ten or twelve Lines, ordering me to pay Sums of Money to Perſons who had the Queen's Penſion, and were then in *France*, or recommending ſome of his particular Friends to my Acquaintance, or, which I thought much better, telling me he had ordered the Payment of my Bills; but I might very ſafely affirm, that I had no Letter that could poſſibly concern the Committee, or any body elſe. I have one Letter that as Lord Treaſurer he writ to me, which related to the Payment of the Dowry of King *James*'s Queen *Mary*; a Thing publickly tranſacted, and known here in *England*: But as no Progreſs was made in that Affair during my Stay in *France*, and that it did not belong to the Negotiation of the Peace, I had not indeed given up that Letter, but, as I thought, I could find it, or the Copy of it, if it ſhould have been thought of any

Uſe.

Uſe. In the mean time, I thought proper, in caſe any Thing had been done in that Matter, to keep that Letter for my own Juſtification; as indeed it would have been my Order. *Boſc.* Sir, you ſay you do not know how many Letters you had; Might you have ten? *P.* I believe I might. *Boſc.* Might you have fourteen? *P.* I believe I might. *Boſc.* Might you have ſixteen? *P.* Indeed, Mr. *Boſc.* I have told you that I cannot anſwer you to any indefinite Number. It was ſtill urged with great Vehemence, that I kept a conſtant Correſpondence with my Lord Treaſurer. *P.* I am very far from denying it; but he did not keep a conſtant Correſpondence with me. It was my Duty to write to him, and he was to make what Uſe he pleaſed of my Letters. I complained ſometimes of the Objections I met with at the Court of *France* in the Execution of my Orders; and was very glad when by the Letters from the Secretary of State, I found my Difficulty made eaſier: But, Gentlemen, ſince we are upon this Subject, throughout the whole Courſe of my Letters to my Lord Treaſurer, and even in thoſe I wrote to the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, after his Grace's Return both in *England* and *Ireland*, I ſtill complained that my Lord Treaſurer did not write to me. And here indeed, being very much teized and vexed, my Lord *Con.* raving and threatening that theſe Letters muſt be produced; I ſaid, If there be ſuch Letters in the World, that contain the Secrets of the Negotiation written by my Lord Treaſurer, it might be very well preſumed his Lordſhip kept Copies of them, and he muſt produce them: For, ſaid I, by the eternal God I know of no ſuch Letters; and you know, my Lord, that your Countryman is no very exact

Correſpondent. This I ſaid, having known that my Lord *Con.* had troubled great Men, if not my Lord Treaſurer particularly, with Letters, who had never taken Care to anſwer him. I grant this was very fooliſhly ſaid; for one ſhould never provoke a Hedge-Hog. *Con.* breaking out into a great Paſſion, This is impoſing upon the Committee! *P.* Impoſing, my Lord, is a very hard Word. He lifted up his Voice in Anger, and was going on: But *Stan.* yet louder than he, ſwore, that he could produce every individual Scrip of Paper that had been written to him by any Man alive, or that he had written to any Man during his being a Miniſter abroad. *P.* Mr. *Stanhope*, I am ſorry I cannot do the like; if it be ſo, you are the moſt careful Miniſter that ever yet were ſent abroad. They proceeded in asking me to give an Account of what, they ſaid, I muſt needs know of the Meeting of the Lords at my Houſe with *Meſnager* and *Gaultier*. I had already heard, that they had conſulted their Friends of the Law upon that Point, and had determined to fix upon that Meeting, wherein the Preliminaries were ſigned, as an Accuſation of Treaſon. How juſtly I leave to the Judgment of all diſintereſted and honeſt Men; ſince firſt, in the Nature of the Thing, it is impoſſible for any two Nations in War to come ever to an Accommodation, or begin any Plan, upon which a future Peace may be founded, without ſome Overture and Intervention of this Kind. All Treaties, from that of *Vervens* down to this Day, have been thus mediated. *Calieres* was in *Holland*, and diſcourſed and conferred privately with Monſieur *Dyckvelt*, on the Part of the States, above two Years before he took a public Character, and ſigned the Treaty of *Ryſwick*.

Monſieur

Monſieur *de Torcy* was publickly in *Holland*, 1709, conferred with the Penſioner, and the Deputies of the States; and our own Plenipotentiaries the Duke of *Marlborough* and Lord *Townſhend*, reported from thoſe Deputies to Her Majeſty, what the *French* Miniſter either propoſed or granted. *Meſnager* had as full Powers as *France* could give, had owned the Queen's Authority, and ſeen her Perſon; and had, by her Majeſty's Directions, ſeveral Times conferred with the Lords of a Committee of Cabinet; all the World ſeeing the Man, and knowing the Fact: So that any Meeting after this could not be ſecret, dangerous, or treaſonable. Mr. *St. John*'s Letter of the 25th *September*, 1711, to Her Majeſty, informs Her immediately of this Meeting, and Her Majeſty approves of what is there done, by her eſpecial Warrant for ſigning the Preliminaries, containing The Demands made by her Order*.

It may be obſerved that Mr. *St. John* writes to the Queen thus,

"The Committee of Council met this Morning "at the *Cockpit*, and directed the Earl of *Dart-*"*mouth* and myſelf to confer with Monſieur *Meſ-*"*nager*: We ſaw him accordingly this Evening, "at Mr. PRIOR's Houſe, where my Lord Trea-"ſurer and Lord Chamberlain were likewiſe pre-"ſent." The Treaſon therefore, if there were any, was committed in the Morning by the Committee of Council, and at the *Cockpit*, and not at Mr. PRIOR's Houſe in the Evening. It may properly here be added, the Queen had ſigned a Warrant the 17th of *September*, 1711, to the

* Appendix to the Report, Page 8.

Lord

Lord Keeper, for full Powers *; in which my Lord *Harcourt* then Lord Chancellor, the Earl of *Oxford* Lord Treaſurer, the Duke of *Buckingham* Preſident of the Council, the Biſhop of *Briſtoll* Lord Privy Seal, the Duke of *Shrewsbury* Lord Chamberlain, the Earl *Poulett* Lord Steward of the Houſhold, and the Earl of *Dartmouth* and Mr. *St. John* Secretaries of State, and MATTHEW PRIOR Eſq; were nominated and empowered to meet with the Sieur *Meſnager*, provided with ſufficient Authority to ſettle an eventual or conditional Convention between Her Majeſty and the moſt Chriſtian King; and that this Warrant was not made uſe of, for Reaſons given, being very natural, becauſe they were Offers only on the *French* Side, and did not oblige Her Majeſty to any Thing: So they were only ſigned *Meſnager*, and *Dartmouth* and *St. John* are only Witneſſes that theſe Articles are to be looked upon as Conditions which his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty agrees to grant, and which are afterwards to be reduced into Form, and explained to the common Satisfaction of *Great Britain* and *France*. Tho' this Procedure will, without doubt, hereafter appear conſonant to common Senſe, conducive to the Safety and Good of *Great Britain*, and juſtifiable by the univerſal Cuſtom and Law of Nations, *Nunc non erat his locus.* I ſaid, Monſieur *Meſnager* had often been at my Houſe; that the Secretary of State had ſeen him there; that I had ate and drank, and been abroad with him ſeveral Times. They took great hold of this. *Boſt.* expreſſed himſelf with great Joy, This is more than we knew before! And from thence they ran wildly back, When I knew

* Appendix to the Report, *p.* 7.

Gaultier?

Gaultier? Where I had been with *Mesnager?* I answered to this in as general Terms as I could. The Chairman perceived that they would lose their Point in this Multiplicity of Questions, and, checking their Speed, restrained it to this one Demand. *Chairm.* What Lords were present at your House at the Meeting when the preliminary Articles were talked of or signed? I answer'd, The two Secretaries of State; for it is certain they were so, their Names appearing in the Instrument. *Chairm.* Was my Lord of *Oxford* there? *P.* I cannot recollect it: One of the Lords were absent; whether the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, or the Earl of *Oxford*, I cannot tell. In all Sincerity and Honour this is Truth. They grew extremely anger'd upon it, and sent me out to recollect if both these Lords were not present.

I came in, and assured them again, That as well as I could remember a Transaction, of which I took no Notes, and which was now above 3 Years past, and of which I was so far from expecting to be called to any Account, that I thought it was an Honour to me, I could not determine which of the two were absent. I said again, That this was Fact, that I do not remember it: I have only an Idea that one of them was absent. The Answer indeed had this Effect, that it was the same Thing as if they were both absent, since they could not determine which of them was present. But upon this Meeting no less Accusation than an Article of High Treason was to be founded. Was any thing more difficult ever put upon a Man, than to endeavour to extort an Evidence from me, in order to bring those to the Scaffold who were Friends and Patrons, under whose Orders formerly, and with whom jointly

now,

now, I had the Honour to act, by the Queen's Directions, and in a Matter not only innocent, but laudable! Or could any thing be more abſurd, or more inhuman, than to propoſe to me a Queſtion, by the anſwering of which I might (according to them) prove myſelf a Traytor! Since, as I had heard, every Man who is a Partner, is a Principal in Treaſon: And notwithſtanding their ſolemn Promiſe that nothing which I could ſay ſhould hurt myſelf, I had no Reaſon to truſt them; for they violated that Promiſe about five Hours after (as I ſhall ſay anon.) However, I owned I was there preſent. Whether this was wiſely done or no, I leave to my Friends to determine.

From my being taken up by Order of the Houſe of Commons, this Examination was juſt a Week. They now, after I had been turned out, and returned again, interrogated me: If ſince my being taken into Cuſtody, I had not ſeen my Lord of *Oxford*, or any of his Relations? I ſaid, I had ſeen my Lord of *Oxford* the laſt *Sunday* at Mr. *Thomas Harley*'s Houſe; and was going on to explain that Mr. *Thomas Harley* and I, who were taken up at the ſame Time, (living within three Doors of each other) commonly dined together at one or the other of our Houſes, our reſpective Meſſengers guarding us. That on *Sunday* going to dine with Mr. *Harley*, I ſaw my Lord of *Oxford* at the Stair-head, going out; that I asked him if he dined with us: He told me, he was to dine in better Company: That this was all that paſſed between us; the Meſſenger at the Bottom of the Stairs heard every Word I ſaid to him. As I was telling this, they anſwered it was ſufficient, I had ſeen my Lord of *Oxford*, and his near Relation; which was the Queſtion asked.

I here was ordered to retire, and when I was called in again, the Chairman, from amongſt many Books and Papers which he had before him, (and the Secretary of State had on the other Side as many; and I perceived many of them were my own) the Chairman, I ſay, abruptly enough threw one Half-Sheet of the large Demy Paper, written very foul, and razed in ſeveral Places, which, indeed, when he gave into my Hand, I hardly knew what it was, ſo far as to give any reaſonable Account of it, it being without Date or Title, and, as I ſay, very imperfect as to the very Words and Stile. He asked me drily, and without any other previous Word, If I knew that Hand? *P.* There are two Hands in it, one is very like the Hand I write when firſt I make any Brouillon. *One or two of the Committee.* Sir, What do you mean by a Brouillon? *P.* When I write any thing at firſt only for my own Memory, as to what I would draw up after in a more perfect Manner. I peruſed this Piece of Paper, and upon a little Reflection, directing myſelf to Mr. *Stanhope*, ſaid, I believed this Paper contained ſome Notes upon a Letter I received from his Predeceſſor my Lord *Bolingbroke*. He was appriſed of this before; for he readily turned to the Letter which was regiſtred in the Office-Book. I added, that I thought there were ſome Notes I had taken in the *French* Language, to enable me to ſpeak more particularly to Monſieur *de Torcy* of the Matters mentioned in the ſaid Secretary's Letter. As that Letter wat written four Years before, and I was not in Poſſeſſion of my own Letters, the Secretary himſelf and the Committee could beſt inform themſelves of the Subſtance thereof. There was written, *My Lord, Tr. ne doute point que la*

Cour

Cour de France n' y trouve de remede. Now whatever Lord that might mean, they had already printed it my Lord Treaſurer *; and in ſo doing had given that Sentence the wrongeſt Conſtruction imaginable, as proving that my Lord Treaſurer would give up *Tournay* to *France*; whereas the whole Hint was meant to renew to the Miniſters at that Court, that *Tournay* was to be given to the Allies; and it was to keep the Court of *France* from endeavouring to hope the contrary. As what was in this Brouillon was ſometimes an Abridgment, and ſometimes a verbal Tranſlation of my Lord *Bolingbroke*'s Letter, which Mr. *Stanhope* ſtill held cloſe, and as I read the *French* into *Engliſh*, I asked him if the ſame Senſe was in the Letter. He did not deny it. *Con.* grew extremely angry, and on a ſudden broke out into ſome Expreſſions which neither he ſhould have utter'd, nor will I repeat; and ſo I was ordered to withdraw again; which was into the next Room, where not only a Meſſenger of the Houſe of Commons, but a Door-Keeper of the Secretary's Office, waited all Day, and were ſtill ready to receive me.

Being called in again, I was interrogated without Method or Connection, as any Member of the Committee pleaſed, and indeed with Confuſion and Diſorder enough among themſelves; for they ſometimes ſtopped each other's Queſtion, and propoſed new ones of their own. At laſt it came to this. *Chairm.* Mr. PRIOR, we cannot doubt but that you are appriſed of the whole Affair of *Tournay*? Did my Lord ever write about *Tournay*? *P.* I cannot readily anſwer, as not underſtanding the Force of the Queſtion: I believe

* Vide the Report, Page 34.

my

my Lord Treaſurer may have writ to me concerning *Tournay* at the Beginning of the Negotiation: I am ſure he has ſpoke to me about *Tournay*: I may be miſtaken as to the Time; but I think in 1711 the *French* inſiſted upon their having *Tournay*: But I very well remember,* that the Queen's Inſtructions to Her Ambaſſadors for the general Peace, were poſitive that the *Dutch* ſhould have it: I underſtood the Negotiation to continue always upon that Foot. I added, that as the Affair of the Barrier was tranſacted at *Utrecht*, I had nothing in my Inſtructions relating to that whole Matter, otherwiſe than as it might relate in general to the Peace. What I have of the whole Negotiation is before you. Here *Wal.* and *Stan.* grew mightily perplexed; one in a ſullen, and t'other in an unbounded Paſſion. *Con.* raved out-right. I may juſtly proteſt that I could not conceive the Cauſe of this Diſorder; for I did not know that they had already founded their High Treaſon upon the Articles of *Tournay*, againſt my Lord Treaſurer; nor can I ſince comprehend why they did. To ſhew the Juſtice, as well as the good Judgment of theſe Men, it muſt certainly appear not only extravagant, but ridiculous to all who think righter than the Committee, that is, to all Men living, that an Article of High Treaſon ſhould be founded againſt an *Engliſh* Miniſter upon *Tournay*, which was not given up to the *French*, and no Mention ever made of *Liſle*, which actually was given up. This by the way. It may be further obſerved, that at that Time not one third Part of the Committee themſelves did know upon what

* Vide Anſwer to the Memorial, dated *Nov.* 18, 1711. Append. to the Report, Page 14. the Queen's Inſtructions to Her Plenipotentiaries, *ibid.* Page 20.

Point

Point the Accuſations either againſt the Earl of *Oxford*, or any Man elſe, were to be grounded; ſeveral of them having ſince told me themſelves, that they never either drew up or read the Report; but that thoſe Things came to them, as they merrily expreſſed it, ready cut and dried.

But to return to my Journal; this various and incoherent Manner of Examination having now laſted above nine Hours. Two of my Maſters (by the way) Mr. *Onſlow* and Mr. *Erle*, had left the Committee almoſt at the Beginning of the Day; for to give them their Due, they asked me very few Queſtions while there, and by going away ſeemed aſhamed of the Proceeding: And now *Wal.* himſelf grew weary of it, and was going, but hindered, and, as it were, kept in the Chair by Mr. *Stan.* who ſaid openly, they could not go on without the Chairman. I was ordered to withdraw, and during about half an Hour's Receſs into the next Room, or rather Paſſage, as the Door was by chance opened, I heard them extremely warm and loud with one another. Whilſt I was in this little Room, in which the Meſſenger under whoſe Cuſtody I was, and a Door-Keeper of the Secretary's Office, as I have already ſaid, were waiting, *Con.* came out by a Back-Way, as *Boſc.* did by the Fore-Door. In this Room was a Trunk, and in it ſeveral Papers and Memorials, to which the Committee had Recourſe during the Examination. The Trunk was open, and I could not but perceive by the Indorſements that many of the Papers were my own. *Con.* whiſpered the Officers to take care that I ſhould not come nigh the Trunk, and really looked on me more like a Fury than a Man; tho' certainly I had all the Right imaginable to ſee every Paper that related to me

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in my Examination, which was pretended to be made upon no other Foot, than that the King ſhould be informed of what I had done for his Service in the Negotiation of the Peace; and if the Committee themſelves had really a Mind to be apprized of the Truth as to Fact, the hindering a Man whom they intended ſhould become an Evidence from ſeeing his own Papers, was but an ill Method towards his giving them a clearer Intelligence.

I was now called in for the laſt Time, and I found that they had collected ſeveral Heads of what they thought proper I ſhould ſet my Hand to. I read them, and made ſome Objections thereunto, but to no Purpoſe. I ſaid, that to many Queſtions I had not, nor could, anſwer in the poſitive Manner that was there ſet down: That as to divers Facts, I could not take Things upon my Memory: That as to others, I had indeed ſaid I believed, I thought, I had heard, or underſtood they were ſo: That the Omiſſion of theſe Words made me ſay poſitively, and as an Evidence, what I ſhould not be able to maintain, having only anſwer'd them as my Memory ſerved me, and as much as I knew of the Heads upon which I had been interrogated; knowing that they themſelves had blamed my Anſwers, for being very imperfect; and I had more than once told them, I was ſorry I could not anſwer them more fully. I objected againſt theſe Words: *He confeſſes that ſince his Confinement he has converſed with the Earl of* Oxford, *and his neareſt Relations.* I did not, I ſaid, confeſs. Confeſſion ſuppoſes a Crime: I was told, I was accuſed of none. I ſaid I had ſeen the Earl of *Oxford* at Mr. *Thomas Harley*'s; and as I was going to tell the Thing again,

Jeſus! ſaid *Con.* how perjur'd is this Man? *P.* My Lord, have a care of——. *Con.* No, Sir, 'tis you that muſt have a care. Seeing now the Face of the Committee againſt me, knowing and preſuming that if ever the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Oxford*, or Lord *Bolingbroke* himſelf, ſhould be brought to Trial, I muſt beſure before the Lords have an Opportunity of explaining what I had ſaid, and declaring what Uſage I had found from the Committee, I ſigned the Paper. I cannot here omit a ridiculous Inſtance of my *Middleſex* Juſtice's Skill in the Law: He was juſt going to ſet his Name on the Left Hand of the Paper, where I was to have ſet mine; and if he had not been timely cautioned by the Chairman, it would have been the Depoſition of *Hugh Boſcawen, jurat. coram me, Matt. Prior.*

When I had thus ſigned the Paper, the Chairman told me, that the Committee were not at all ſatisfied with my Behaviour, nor could give ſuch an Account of it to the Houſe that might merit their Favour in my Behalf: That at preſent they thought fit to lay me under a ſtricter Confinement than that of my own Houſe. Here *Boſc.* played the Moraliſt, and *Con.* the Chriſtian; but both very aukwardly. *Boſc.* ſaid, that he had often heard Mr. *Stepney* (who was a wiſe Man) and our old Friend, repeat this Proverb, *Near is my Shirt, but nearer my Skin*; and told me, if I had remembered that Saying, and acted according to it, it would have been better for me. And *Con.* ſaid, he had known me a long Time, and was heartily ſorry for my Condition; but all this proceeded from my own Fault. Now this kind Commiſeration did not laſt above a Minute; for the Meſſenger to whoſe Houſe they intended to confine

fine me, being called; *Con.* * asked him if his Houſe were ſecured by Bolts and Bars. The Meſſenger †, who is by Birth a Gentleman, and a very good-natur'd Man, was aſtoniſh'd at the Queſtion; and anſwered, that he never had any in his Cuſtody but Parliament Priſoners, (as he expreſſed it) and there were neither Bolts nor Bars in his Houſe. At which *Con.* very angrily ſaid, Sir, you muſt ſecure this Priſoner; it is for the Safety of the Nation; if he eſcapes, you ſhall anſwer for it. And now I met with another Hardſhip, which indeed I could not have expected, as I had all Day taken Notes of the Heads of their Examination, and my Anſwers, and particularly that Mr. *Stanhope* had, by His Majeſty's Order, informed the Committee, that from whatever I ſhould ſay in this Examination, nothing ſhould or ought to redound to my own Prejudice: Nor indeed could it be imagined I ſhould anſwer upon any other Foot; for without the King's Conſent, I doubt if I ought at all to have anſwered to the Committee. *M. P.*

Theſe Proceedings in the Committee of Council, and the ill Uſage he thought he had met with in the Report of the *Secret Committee* of the Houſe of Commons, occaſioned Mr. PRIOR to undertake a Defence of Himſelf and the late Miniſtry, againſt the Charge attempted to be maintained in the ſaid Report. This Defence, as far as he had finiſh'd it, with References to the Report itſelf, is here exactly printed from his own Papers.

* Lord *Comingsby*'s Behaviour during this Examination, ſeems to have been the Ground of that Reſentment expreſs'd againſt him by Mr. PRIOR in his Ballads of *Down-Hall*, and the *Viceroy*; the firſt of which is in the Third Volume of his former Works, and the other in the Second of theſe poſthumous Volumes.

† Mr. *Hollingſhead.*

Mr. PRIOR's *Answer to the Report of the* Cmmittee of Secresy, *appointed by Order of the House of Commons to examine several Books and Papers laid before the House, relating to the late Negotiations of Peace and Commerce.*

THE * Committee report to the House, that they have examined several Papers and Books relating to the late Negotiations of Peace and Commerce; To the Demolition of *Dunkirk*; To the Assiento Contract; To the Affair of the *Catalans*, and Secret Negotiations relating to the Pretender.

† They begin with the Negotiations of Peace. The intended Demolition of *Dunkirk*, as it is artificially called, as likewise the Assiento, and the Affair of the *Catalans*, is referred to another Opportunity, *ad Græcas Calendas:* And as to any Correspondence proved between the Ministry and the Pretender, another Time, and another Report may bring it to Light: But as to what is hinted of this Kind, you hear no Word of it till Page the 52d; and what is there said evinces quite the contrary to the Promise made in the very first Page.

* *June* the 9th, 1715. † Page 1.

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The firſt Thing they expreſs, is, The Surpriſe they are in to find ſeveral Books and Papers wanting. To find them wanting is extreme good *Engliſh*; but the Senſe this Phraſe muſt bear, is, That they ſought for what they could not find. As for Books, I know not what they could mean: I preſume the ordinary Letters and Entries, relating to the Negotiation, as they were left, might conſequently be found in the Offices of the Secretaries of State. Lord *Bolingbroke* had ſo little Time to ſuppreſs or take away any Papers, that, as I have heard ſay, many of his private Correſpondencies were ſeized. The Earl of *Strafford*'s Papers were delivered up immediately upon his Arrival in *England*; as Mr. PRIOR's * were to the Earl of *Stairs* at *Paris*. They were all put into the Hands of a Secretary of State; but from thence indeed they were ſeverally given to Perſons who were to read them, and make Extracts out of them: To Perſons, I ſay, who neither by their Profeſſion or Knowledge in the World, could be thought competent Judges of them. But they cannot find; ſo that as they find leaſt, Men are to be judged more culpable, and the ſuppoſed Crime of the Accuſed increaſes, as the Accuſer knows leſs of the Matter. Upon this Way of Reaſoning, I had rather a Jury ſhould bring me in Guilty of High-Treaſon, than return it *Ignoramus*.

As to Books collected and bound together, relating to the Pretender and his Intereſt, I preſume they could not expect to find ſuch in the Office:

* By Mr. PRIOR's ſpeaking of himſelf in the third Perſon, it ſeems as if he had deſigned this Defence for an anonymous Publication.

I mean by this, that they could mean just nothing.

The first material Paper found, is named The first Propositions of *France*, signed by Monsieur *de Torcy*. This Paper is transmitted by Mr. *St. John* to my Lord *Raby* at the *Hague*. There is but † five Days between the Queen's receiving these Propositions, and her communicating them to her Allies: And in this Proposition it is remarkable, that the Barrier in the *Low Countries* was, that this Barrier should be agreeable to *England*, and the good Liking of the *English*. The Preamble indeed is a little untoward: For his most Christian Majesty says, That those who governed the Republic of *Holland* had industriously rendered the Negotiations fruitless, since the Separation of the Conference at *Gertruydenburg*. Her Majesty takes notice to her Minister, That in them there is an Air of Complaisance shewn to them in *England*. Why should there not be such? The Effusion of very much *British* Blood; the vast Expence of a consuming War unequally carried on, and at last become impracticable, as the Parliament expressed it some time after, the very Dignity of the Crown, might require such Complaisance. The *Dutch* could not be offended at it, nor do otherwise than thank Her Majesty for this Communication; * and they do acknowledge the Queen's Goodness upon this Occasion. They declare themselves weary of the War, which, they say, they endeavour to conceal from the Enemy. But how far they did conceal it, or how they acted with her Majesty reciprocally, I shall touch in the Sequel of these Papers. This being only pre-

† *April* 22, and 27, 1711. * *May* 20th, 26th, 1711.

mised

miſed by the Way, that whereas the Committee do not find any Communication to the States, of any Negotiation carried on for five Months after, let them only look to the ſeventh Page, where the Report ſays, That Monſieur *de Torcy* had written in *June* both to the Penſioner and Monſieur *Vander Duſſen*, giving an Account that they [the *French*] had begun a Negotiation in *England*: So far was it from being kept a Secret from our Friends in *Holland*, either on our Part or that of *France*.

* The Paper called Mr. Prior's Authority is ſigned *Anne R.* at the Top, and *A. R.* at the Bottom; not counter-ſigned. A terrible Accuſation from Perſons verſed in Buſineſs, Privy-Councillors, Chancellors, *&c.* No Powers, from thoſe of the leaſt Agent to the greateſt Plenipotentiary, were ever counter-ſigned; and I believe theſe Gentlemen will be of Opinion, that *A. R.* at the Bottom of the Paper, was a better Warrant for Mr. Prior's Action, than *Henry St. John*'s or *Dartmouth*'s could have been.

† The next Thing worth remarking is, That the *Engliſh* Miniſtry determined to carry on a ſeparate Negotiation with *France*: That the Secret ſhould be kept inviolably till allowed to be divulged by the Conſent of both Parties. How this was to be underſtood, I have already ſhewn, the Queen, as well as Monſieur *de Torcy*, having communicated it to *Holland*. This Keeping the Secret, is a Form uſed in every Treaty that ever was made, and means that it ſhould be communicated to as few as may be. But the Queen has here broke her Word with *France*. Is this a

* Page 3. † Page 3.

Fault? If ſhe had kept it, would not that have been yet a greater? But that any Negotiation of this Kind, in which ſo many Princes and States are jointly concerned, could poſſibly be carried on without ſome Reſtriction of this Kind, will be evident from what I ſhall anon obſerve; from what has been always practiſed by all Nations engaged in Alliance of War; from what the Emperor and the *Dutch*, the Chief of our Allies, have done in relation to us and each other, during this and the precedent War; and from what we have reciprocally done towards them under the Miniſtry of theſe Men, who ſtand ready now to complain and impeach.

At the Beginning of the Report, the Committee ſaid, they could not find that the *Dutch* were ever acting privately with *France*. A ſtrange I—— in Men of their Penetration. Some of them ſure muſt have known that the States have never deſiſted, even ſince their breaking off the Conferences at *Gertruydenburg* and the *Hague*, to correſpond with *France*. They have their Agents all the while out. *Leers*, under a Pretence of trafficking Books, wrote conſtantly to *Paris*, and *Petticum* was actually negotiating with that Crown. Mr. PRIOR ſays, (I do not know if he lyes or not) that at his Arrival at *Fontainbleau* at the Beginning of *Auguſt*, 1711, he ſaw three Letters writ from Monſieur *de Petticum* to Monſieur *de Torcy*, written, as *Petticum* ſays, by the Order of the Penſionary himſelf. He invites Mr. *de Torcy* to renew the Conferences ſo unhappily broke off with *Holland*. He ſays, he is ready to come to *Paris*; or to meet any Perſon authorized by *France*, at *Amiens*, or elſewhere. He promiſes it ſhall be more advantageous to *France* to begin

gin with *Holland* ſeparately: That his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty has only to propoſe his own Terms, and the States ſhall agree to them. He adds, too truly indeed, that the inteſtine Diviſions in *England*, will render any Negotiation with us impracticable; for that one Party will certainly oppoſe what the other would conſent to, how juſt or reaſonable ſoever. He explains that one of our Parties has a very great Intereſt in *Holland*: He names them as the Perſons moſt concerned in our Banks and Stocks here; moneyed Men, not well affected to the Miniſtry here at home, who are rather inclined to a Land Intereſt. He inſinuates the Emperor's Deſire of continuing the War. So evident it is, that there was an Endeavour to wreſt the Negotiation out of the Queen's Hand, notwithſtanding what is aſſerted in the Report*. This I take to be the great and true Reaſon, why the Negotiation did not advance between *April* and *Auguſt*; and indeed, as we had a great Party here, ſo were there ſome Miniſters in *France* too viſibly intereſted in the *Dutch* Faction. I do not ſpeak it to their Reproach; for they thought it more for the Intereſt of their Country, that a Republic, whom they might in Time cruſh, ſhould be now favoured, rather than that a Monarchy, whom they always dreaded, ſhould be ſecured and advantaged.

Amongſt other Arguments, this was one at that Time made Uſe of, That *Great Britain*, as Matters then ſtood, could not begin to treat, becauſe we could not own King PHILIP: Whereas the *Dutch* had always uſed ſuch Civility to that Prince, that it would be more eaſy and practica-

* Page 3.

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ble for them to begin; upon which we could not refuſe to follow. Theſe Things indeed ought to have been forgotten, and obliterated in the Peace; but the Oppoſers of it make it neceſſary, even for the Safety and Honour of the Perſons concerned in it, that they ſhould be mentioned. Far from deſigning therein to hurt any Man, and not ſaying any Thing hard upon this Subject, I proceed to the 4th Page, the Grounds upon which the whole Report is founded; *viz.* a ſuppoſed Breach of the Grand Alliance on our Side.

Neutri partium fas ſit de pace cum hoſte tractare niſi conjunctim. — The Accuſation is, That we treated ſeparately, in Violation of the Grand Alliance; and it is immediately obſerved, that the Preliminaries are ſigned before any Thing had been finally concluded for the Security of *Great Britain.* How then as yet is this Article violated? Or what Reaſon has any Ally to take it ill? But if any Thing had been concluded for the Security of *Great Britain*, would this have extenuated the Offence? Not in the leaſt. We ought not, it ſeems, to have made any ſuch Security. The Argument turns both Ways; and if the Miniſters did or did not ſtipulate for the Advantage of their Country, they are equally culpable.

But if before any Treaty begun, and in order to oblige Her Majeſty to hear only what the Enemy deſired to begin to treat upon, as well for Herſelf, as for Her Allies, the Enemy offers any Thing, which when finally concluded, may be for the Security of *Great Britain*; ſhall an *Engliſh* Miniſtry be accuſed either for hearing what the Enemy would treat upon, or for turning the Beginning of this Treaty to the Advantage, or at leaſt to the Security (for this ſeems to

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be the Objection) of their Country, at the ſame Time that they hear all thoſe Advantages propoſed in Favour of the Allies; that the Queen is obliged by any Stipulation whatſoever to procure for them: Tho' the Cauſe were tried at *Frankfort* or *Amſterdam*, the Miniſtry muſt be cleared upon this Point? But in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, I will not doubt but that ſuch an Endeavour will be adjudged juſt, honeſt, laudable, and ſtand recorded in the Hearts of all true *Britons*, to the laſting Honour of the Perſons concerned in it. Let us conſider the Force of this terrible Article. Neither Party ſhall treat, *i. e.* make a Treaty, without the Conſent of the other. Shall therefore neither Party hear if the Enemy has a Deſire to treat at all; and in ſuch a Caſe, ſhall neither Party have Power to communicate to his Ally what the Enemy propoſes, or at what Place or Time the Delegates of all Parties may meet together to confer? Is the Article to be reſtrained to this Senſe? No Trumpet then can ever be ſent, no Captive redeemed, or Hoſtage exchanged, without the previous Conſent of the whole Alliance: Thouſands and ten Thouſands muſt have periſhed during this long War in Priſon, unhappily added to thoſe Slain in the Field. In one Word, if we would ever have Peace, we muſt either ſend to *France*, or *France* muſt ſend to us. The Sea is the Frontier between the two Kingdoms, and it is impoſſible by any other Means for each Nation to know the immediate Sentiments of the other; or elſe we muſt be contented to let the Enemy apply to us, and we reciprocally to him, by the Intercourſe and Mediation of ſome third Party. What great Diſadvantage the Crown and People of *Great Britain* have received from this laſt Method,

thod, and to what dreadful Precipices we were driven by purſuing it, is evident to any Man who reads the Preliminary Engagements, and Treaties entered upon for ſix Years paſt; and if the Accuſation againſt the late Miniſtry comes originally from the other Side of the Water, it is a previous Declaration in Favour of the Perſons concerned. It objects to them only, that would avoid thoſe apparent Inconveniences, in which too manifeſtly their Country had ſuffered much, and is likely ſtill to ſuffer more by this mediate and ſecond-hand Way of Treating: And may we not as well make our Bargain, as leave it to be made by our Neighbours, how cordially ſoever they might manage for us? Are we obliged to truſt our Allies in Negotiations of the greateſt Conſequence, and where God knows we had the deepeſt Concern; and ſhall thoſe Allies not truſt us? A Child would be aſhamed of the Abſurdity of ſuch Reaſoning.

The Article, I will yet take it for granted, is not only a Reſtriction upon us, but it is equally obligatory to all the Allies; and yet the People only named as injured by us, are the *Dutch*; whereas every Prince and State concerned in the Alliance, have the ſame Reaſon of Complaint. Now it will eaſily be granted impracticable, that every Motion or Propoſal towards a Peace ſhould be tranſmitted to all: The *Dutch* therefore have a greater Right in this Caſe than the Emperor, or any other Ally; or the Argument is void. At this Rate, we are to hear from our Enemies but by the Mouth of a Cannon; and the juſt Conſequence that follows upon this Conſtruction of the Text, is that all Means of Peace are cut off, and the

the War, to the Joy of thoſe that delight in it, is entailed upon us for ever.

Let us conſider,

Firſt, How we came under theſe inviolable Obligations, to which theſe Religious Obſervers of Treaties would bind us down for ever: And,

Secondly, How our Allies have dealt with us in this Regard.

The Grand Alliance was a Bargain, and not a very advantageous one for *England*, had it been never ſo ſtrictly made good. The Obligations of it were reciprocal. How negligently our Allies kept to their Part of it for thirteen Years, and how that Neglect increaſed every Year, as it was complained of in the Time of the Earl *Godolphin*'s Adminiſtration, promiſed often to be redreſſed, till at laſt, by plain Extracts and Accounts laid before the Parliament, it appeared that the *Dutch* had not complied with one Third of what they were by the moſt ſolemn Contract to furniſh, is evident to the whole Nation; till at laſt the States very roundly told us, that they had done all they could, were not obliged to act according to the Exactneſs of the Quota's and Contingents agreed to, and that we ſhould force them into a ſeparate Peace, if we inſiſted upon theſe Proportions, or even reſtrained an open Trade which they carried on with *France*; which Trade was diſadvantageous to *Great Britain*, by near a Million Sterling *per Annum*. Thus they performed their Obligations to us. How they acted with the Emperor, even in Relation to this very Grand Alliance, is evident in that they formally entered, ſince the making it, into two Treaties of Partition ſigned by the Penſioner *Heinſius* himſelf, in which they oblige themſelves to wage War againſt

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the Emperor and his Adherents, in caſe he is not ſatisfied (inſtead of the whole Monarchy of *Spain*) with the Portions which, without his Knowledge, and againſt his Will, are aſſigned to him in thoſe Treaties. And as to the Emperor himſelf, during ſeveral Campaigns of the laſt War, tho' the Allies had near 200,000 Men, of which *England* maintained above half, employed in endeavouring to get the Dominion of ſo great a Part of *Europe* and *America* to his Family, he has not had of his own Troops 9000 Men; and, which is yet more wonderful, he takes it ill, that being at the ſame Time Emperor of *Germany*, and Maſter of above half *Italy*, he is not likewiſe King of *Sicily*, and Maſter of the *Indies*: Tho' the Baſis of the Grand Alliance is founded upon this Principle, that theſe Dominions ſhall never be united in the Perſon of him that ſhall be Emperor, or even King of the *Romans*. He takes this ill of a Queen of *Great Britain*, that contributed eſſentially to ſet the Imperial Crown upon his Head, as he himſelf acknowledges; and he takes it ill too of a Nation that reſcued the Empire itſelf out of the Hands of *France*, and ſecured it to the Dominion of the *Auſtrian* Family.

That we may remember how ſcrupulous all this while our Allies were, as to this Point of not treating, unleſs in Conjunction with us; and how much they valued any Complaint or Remonſtrance which we could make upon this Head, we need but juſt look back upon the common and known Occurrences of ſome Years paſt, even as they ſtand publiſhed and printed in the Shops.

About

About the Beginning of the Year 1709, * the Preſident *de Rouillé*, with Paſſports from the States, came to *Antwerp*, and from thence to *Moerdyke*, where Meſſieurs *de Buys* and *Van Duſſen*, delegated by the States, conferred with him privately; and in this clandeſtine Manner theſe Deputies continue to act with the *French* Miniſter till *April*, in which Month the Duke of *Marlborough*, who had never been admitted to confer with *de Rouillé*, and had only taken ſuch Report of the Negotiation as the Penſioner was pleaſed to give him, came into *England* to give an Account thereof to Her Majeſty. In his Grace's Abſence, Monſieur *de Torcy* arrived at the *Hague*; the Penſioner adviſes the Duke thereof by Letter; and upon this Advice, his Grace ſets out for the *Hague*. The Conferences continue all this while between the *French* Miniſter and the two *Dutch* Deputies; for neither the Duke of *Marlborough* or Lord *Townſhend* have ever yet ſeen Monſieur *de Rouillé*, till he is preſented to them the 19th of *May*, by Monſieur *de Torcy*. The *French*, in theſe three or four Months, made ſuch great Conceſſions, as gave Hopes of a good and ſolid Peace: But theſe Conceſſions were ſtill rejected. Prince *Eugene* and the Duke of *Marlborough* very ſeldom vouchſafed to aſſiſt at the Meetings appointed: Nor was it very ſtrange that two great Generals, at the Head of 200,000 Men, ſhould not be very fond of quitting the Advantages of thoſe high Stations, for the bare Satisfaction of having their Names printed at the Bottom of a Treaty of Peace.

* See Page 283.

Mon-

Monſieur *de Torcy* at laſt returns to *Paris*, having openly declared above three Weeks before his going from *Holland*, that the Preliminaries, as they were then drawn up, could never be conſented to by the King his Maſter. Notwithſtanding all this Procedure, and the repeated Proteſtations of that Miniſter on this Subject, in Deſpite of Fact and Probability, we draw up a mock Negotiation, as if already agreed to by *France*, and ſend it over to be ratified by the Great Seal of *England*; and to the Wonder, as well as the Laughter of all *Europe*, we find it formally ſigned, as agreed by the Imperial, *Britiſh*, and *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries. Not one Word made of the *French* refuſing it; which, in relation to *England*, carried with it juſt as good Senſe, as if I ſhould get the Writings engroſſed for a Man's Eſtate, who has ſaid he will have nothing to do with me; or that I ſhould ſign a Contract of Marriage on my Part with a Woman, who had three Weeks before fled the Country to avoid my Solicitation.

Happy yet had it been for *Great Britain*, if this Proceeding had proved only ridiculous; but how dangerous it was likewiſe, the very Recital of the Articles will demonſtrate. They carry us on to a Point of View, far beyond what was propoſed by the Grand Alliance; and whereas we were hitherto obliged to make War only till a reaſonable Compenſation be got to the Emperor inſtead of *Spain*, we are not now to lay down our Arms till the Houſe of *Auſtria* is put into the intire Poſſeſſion of the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy. If *Peru* or *Mexico* now refuſe the Dominion of that Family, our Fleets and our Armies are to go thither to conquer theſe Kingdoms for them. We are at the ſame Time under ſuch Obligations to the Emperor, as

to

to *Germany*, as may entail a War of fifty Years upon us, and an Expence of ſeven Millions each of theſe Years, in caſe his Imperial Majeſty thinks good to hold us to our Bargain: So that without entering into any arithmetical Detail, the third Part of the Recolt and Lands of all *England* is given, and a growing Intereſt upon it, for the Prolongation of a War, which is now out of our Power to finiſh; and this too upon no Conſideration or Conceſſion to us in the World, on the Emperor's Part. No little *Comtat* or Hans-Town ever acted with ſuch Humility and Submiſſion to the Court at *Vienna*, as the Crown of *Britain* did on this Occaſion: 'Tis all Condeſcenſion on our Side, and the Emperor's Love is worth the other fifty Millions: Nay, he has not as much as previouſly honour'd us with the Approbation and Conſent of the Empire: It is enough that he will do it as ſoon as poſſible, and we honeſtly believe him, at leaſt upon his *bona Fide*. How well he has acquitted himſelf in this Point, may, amongſt other Articles, be ſeen in one Particular.

Whilſt immediate and peculiar Care was taken of every Article that could be thought to regard the Intereſt of his Imperial Majeſty, or the States General, the State of the Proteſtant Religion in *Germany* was what as well the late Queen as His preſent Majeſty have frequently declared they had very much at Heart: But in theſe Preliminaries the only Care that was taken in this Behalf, as well by our Calviniſtical as Catholic Friends, was, that the Affair is referable to the Negotiations of a General Peace; which is, in plain *Engliſh*, that this Article is left fairly to the Deciſion of the Emperor, the chief Potentate that oppoſes it. It is to be determin'd at a Tribunal where a Plu-

rality of Roman Catholics preſide; and the *French* King is by this excuſed, if he is found paſſive in the Matter, under a Notion that That Prince has nothing to do in the Affairs of the Empire. This, by the way, was the ſpecial Care taken in theſe Preliminaries of the Proteſtant Religion.

In the ſame Preliminaries we fairly give to the *Dutch* all the Towns in the *Low Countries* to garriſon, and all the Revenues of thoſe Countries, to maintain their ſo doing. From this Moment we proceed upon the moſt unequal, as well as moſt unjuſt Conditions that ever were impoſed by Allies, upon a free People, (ſhall I ſay?) nay, by Conquerors upon the Vanquiſhed. To continue to fight, is thought the proper and ſole Buſineſs of the *Engliſh*. We are to ſuſtain all the Loſs; Strangers are to ſhare all the Advantage, and we are never to think of Peace till they tell us they are weary of the War. At this Price of our Treaſure, of our Blood, and indeed of Common Senſe, we acquired that great Pennyworth of Glory, which (as Count *Gallas* ſatirically told Her late Majeſty) the Emperor would have bought, if he had had Money enough. And in this Situation our old Friends, ſo much famed for emblematic Wit, might again have painted us with Lions Claws, but with Calves Heads.

The moſt melancholy Animadverſion yet remains to be made upon theſe pernicious Preliminaries, ratified on our Part, never ſo much as ſigned, or intended to be ſigned, on the Part of *France*: That upon M. *de Torcy*'s Return to *Verſailles*, the *French* King ſends them to all the Provinces of his Kingdom, ſhews them to be captious in their Tenor, unreaſonable as to their Demands,

nay,

nay, impoſſible for him to comply with,* and calculated only to make a Separation between that King and *Spain*. The whole People of *France* with all imaginable Zeal conſent, Clergy as well as Laity, to augment their Taxes; reſolve univerſally, whether with Reaſon or no I ſhall not determine, that the Allies never did intend a Peace, and will fight, *pro aris & focis*, till more reaſonable Terms may be propoſed: And to ſhew they are in earneſt, they ſell their very Plate, raiſe the Dixmes of their Eſtates, and ſupply the King with above a hundred Millions of Livres. The *Spaniards*, at the ſame Time, for fear of being hereafter diſmember'd or abuſed, as they thought they were by theſe Proceedings, became ſo inviolably united to the Intereſt of *Philip* and his Family, that this Tranſaction, joined to the ſurpriſing Effects of the following Campaign, made it utterly impoſſible that That Prince ſhould, humanly ſpeaking, be ever removed out of the Dominions of *Spain*, or attacked with any Succeſs in them.

It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that in the Inſtructions given this Year † to the Duke of *Marlborough* and Lord *Townſhend*, they are to declare to the Penſioner of *Holland*, and ſuch other Members of the State as may be proper, that no Negotiation of Peace ſhould be entered into with *France* till the Preliminaries were firſt adjuſted between Her Majeſty and the States General. Is the Emperor, the King of *Pruſſia*, the Elector of *Hanover*, or any Prince of the Empire, let into this Secret? Nay, do not the Inſtructions particularly ſay, that this Communication is to be made only

* See Page 287. † 1709.

to the Penſioner and ſome of his Favourites? Does there appear in theſe Inſtructions that great Tenderneſs to all our Allies in general, or that Zeal more particularly for the Emperor's Intereſt, which flames out with ſuch Force at preſent, as is likely to ſet the whole Nation on Fire?

However, thus runs the Inſtruction, and the Reference from it is very eaſy. In 1709, the Queen's Plenipotentiaries may not only treat, but conclude with the Penſioner, and ſuch other of the States as may be convenient and neceſſary, excluſive, as has been already ſaid, of the reſt of the Allies: The Plenipotentiaries are neither to regard nor aſk if theſe very Gentlemen of *Holland* have ſufficient, or indeed any Power from their Maſters. Yet in 1712, the ſame Queen's whole Council, or ſuch of them as ſhe pleaſes to nominate, ſhall not be thought qualified to treat with a Miniſter of *France*, tho' he comes inſtructed with as Full Powers as any Miniſter, even a Prince of the Blood, did or could ever produce from that Crown; and though the Intereſts of all the Allies were previouſly taken care of, were mentioned, and (as far as the Nature of the Thing could admit) adjuſted, the firſt Time this Plenipotentiary meets with the Perſons thus delegated by Her Majeſty.

Towards the latter End of this Year *, the Barrier Treaty was ſet on Foot: It was contrived, drawn up, and perfected in *Holland*; it is ſigned by ſeven of the States General on their Side; amongſt whom is the Penſioner *Heinſius*; and on our Side it is ſigned ſingly by Lord *Townſhend*; his Collegue, our firſt Plenipotentiary, who had

* 1709.

more

more Precaution and Experience, for very ſolid Reaſons, declining to ſign it jointly with him. When this Treaty was ſent over, and peruſed by Thoſe who had then the Honour to be of Her Majeſty's Council, tho' the Whole was generally condemned, yet, to keep well with the *Dutch*, as the Phraſe at that Time went, it was thought proper to try ſuch Experiment as might, in ſome meaſure, rectify the groſſeſt and moſt viſible Inconveniency in this unequal Stipulation; by which, in one Word, we were to have had nothing but what, God be thanked! we had ſecured to ourſelves by our own Laws and Conſtitutions, and for what we ought to be indebted to no People, or Body of Men, but to our own Parliament; and to no Cauſe or Thing, but to the natural Liberty of our Country, and the Providence of God in the Protection of it; while by the ſame Treaty the States were to have the *Uſu fruit*, and probably the abſolute Poſſeſſion, of all the *Low Countries*.

To redreſs or conceal the great Diſproportion and Enormity of this Treaty, ſome explanatory Articles were drawn up, and ſent to be inſerted with, or added to, the Whole; but ſo far were we from being heard on this Occaſion, that the Treaty was ſent back ſigned: Theſe Articles, particularly eight of them of the greateſt Tenour and Importance, being abſolutely exploded and rejected.

When any Man has read theſe Articles,* he has but to reflect to what ſad Extremities the Crown, the Miniſtry, and the Nation of *Great Britain*, were reduced. The States, without any Reſtriction or Account, ſhall garriſon and poſſeſs not only what they have already, but whatever they

* Vide G. Coll. of Treaties, Page 490.

ſhall acquire in *Flanders* during the Progreſs of the War: *Britain* ſhall, without any Advantage, without the leaſt Conſideration, aſſiſt to the completing this Bargain, with all her Wealth, and to the utmoſt of her Power.

It is here obſervable, that the Queen offer'd to ſtipulate with *Holland*, that neither of us ſhould enter into a Treaty with *France* before the entire Monarchy of *Spain* was yielded up as a Preliminary. The *Dutch* refuſed abſolutely to enter into ſuch Agreement, and gave this Reaſon for their Refuſal: That their People would never be brought to conſent to it. Yet upon the Report made at the *Hague* * by the *Dutch* Deputies, that the Conferences they had held with the *French* had not met with the Succeſs deſired, the Imperial Miniſter declared, that the Emperor would not conſent to any Partition of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy. And the next Year † he makes the ſame Declaration, at a Conference of the Allies at *Utrecht*; tho', as I have ſaid, the very Principle upon which the grand Alliance is founded, is, that a reaſonable Compenſation ſhould be made to the Emperor, in regard to his Pretenſions to *Spain*. What is Her Majeſty to do now? Inſiſt upon the entire Reſtitution of *Spain* to the Houſe of *Auſtria?* The *Dutch* will not come in even to the Propoſal. The Queen and Her Miniſtry muſt not be releaſed from this Engagement, from which our Allies have ſo evidently receded: And the People of *Great Britain* are ſtill to be tied down to this hard, this unequal, this impoſſible Condition; inſomuch, that when the Diſpoſition of human Affairs in the two ſucceeding Years had render'd it infinitely more

* 1710. † March 4. 1711-12.

ſo

ſo than it was at the Time that the *Dutch* made this Refuſal, a great Lord confeſs'd in the Upper Houſe, that the Thing was impoſſible; but he ſtill urged that it ſhould be inſiſted on.

The State of Affairs were ſuch at that * Time, that as it appeared to be the Counſel, ſo was it really the Intereſt of the Imperialiſts to prolong the War. 200,000 Men were fighting for them; of which they did not maintain above 10,000: Their Dominions were to be extended by a Victory, and the Loſs of a Battle muſt have kept us longer in a War. This Children call, *Croſs I win, Pile you loſe.* If the Allies had had the better, the Emperor's Demands had increaſed. The beſt we could have expected would have been, that the Congreſs ſhould have been preferr'd to *Frankfort* or to *Baden.* How good Conditions we ſhould there have obtained, even as to what related to our own Honour, and how the Demands of *England* would have been regarded, or the Proteſtant Intereſt ſuſtained, is evident from what has ſince been done at the latter of theſe Places. But turn the Tables: Had we loſt the Battle, their End had yet been more effectually gained: *Holland* and *Great Britain* muſt have renewed and augmented their Strength: The old Argument, that the exorbitant Power of *France* was not yet ſufficiently abated, would have been renewed; and we, again frighten'd, muſt have ſtill gone on in a wild Maze of a deſtructive Land War.

The Propoſal of having *Dunkirk* demoliſhed, our Friends rejected, without vouchſafing to give us any Reaſon for their ſo doing; tho' this was the only Advantage we propoſed to ourſelves, or

* 1712.

expected to receive on that Side, for all the Victories we had helped them to gain, and for having procured them the almost entire Possession of thirty fortified Places, and ten Provinces.

Hard is the Fate of *Great Britain*, if we are bound and condemned to Terms from which our Allies declare themselves released; if we are obliged to make War for them upon Conditions, which they acknowledge they cannot make their own Subjects perform; and if the States, who would not admit of our having *Dunkirk*, are not only excused, but justified; whilst the Queen's Ministers, for having since obtained it, are not only to be blamed but impeached.

It may be here not improperly observed, That *Dunkirk* is * named as what may require a particular Attention, because this Port and *Calais* are so near, that the Enemy may sail thence to the Coasts of the States, or to those of *Great Britain*, in one Tide: But nothing is said or proposed in Favour of its being demolished. It may be added, that neither during this last or the precedent War, they would ever consent to the besieging it, tho' we had often proposed this Enterprize to them, and offered to do it at our own Expence.

About the Beginning of the Year 1710, the † *French* Plenipotentiaries arrive in *Holland*, and at *Moerdyke Buys* and *Vander Dussen* meet them. The Conferences which these Deputies hold from Time to Time, are transmitted to the *Hague*, to the Pensionary and some of the Deputies of

* Committee of State, Page 17.

† The Marshal *d'Uxelles*, and the Abbot *de Polignac*. See Page 298.

State;

State; and by theſe Perſons they are communicated to the Imperial and *Britiſh* Plenipotentiaries.

The Conferences at *Gertruydenberg*, all *March* and *April*, are carried on in the ſame Manner; and when in *May* there appeared ſome Hope that the Negotiation, which had like to have broke off, might be renewed, the Imperial Miniſter deſired to be admitted to the ſucceeding Conferences; but this was over-ruled; and the Reaſon given for it was, that the other Miniſters, particularly thoſe of *England*, might claim the ſame Privilege. Not only the Propoſitions at *Gertruydenberg*, but even the Letter by which the *French* Plenipotentiaries deſire to be diſmiſſed, are communicated by the Penſionary only to the Imperial and *Britiſh* Miniſters; and this Letter is addreſſed to *Petticum*, who writes them Word again that he had communicated his Letter to them who were intruſted in the Affair, and what the Deputies had related to have paſſed in the laſt Conference, had been told to the Miniſters of the Allies. What Permiſſion our Miniſters had to hear only by ſecond-hand, or what ſuperior Power the Deputies of the States had in the firſt Place to confer and act with the *French* Plenipotentiaries, I cannot determine. Why *Petticum*, who is an Agent only for the Duke of *Holſtein*, had the Negotiation ſome time truſted to himſelf alone, is yet more aſtoniſhing. What appears moſt plain is, That we were to make War for the *Dutch*, and they to make Peace for us. The definitive Anſwer of the States to the *French* Memorial, when their Plenipotentiaries were going away, is a Reſolution drawn up by ſome of their Deputies, and communicated to them only: So ſure were they of having us agree

to

to whatever they did. And as the *Dutch* were the ſole Managers of this Negotiation, and particularly of its breaking off, it is obſervable that Jealouſies began now to be entertained of them in *England*.

New Overtures are made in *June*; the Imperial Plenipotentiary renews his Deſires of being admitted, at leaſt to hear what theſe are, and receives again the like Denial. He ſays poſitively, he has an Order from *Vienna* to be thus admitted. He ſends an Expreſs on this Subject to Prince *Eugene*, who adviſes him to act on this Occaſion as the *Britiſh* Miniſters did; that the Queen, who contributed ſo greatly to the War, was contented to truſt this preliminary Negotiation of Peace entirely to the Conduct of the States; and that there could be no harm in his following this good Example.

* The Council of State to the States General declare, That in Affairs of War, Hope and Appearance are not always the right Meaſures of Succeſs; and that ſometimes, how unlikely ſoever or unpromiſing the Poſture of Affairs may ſtand, great Events may enſue thereupon. ******

Here the Manuſcript ends.

On the 20th of *June*, 1715, the Day after the Commons Committee made their Report, *Robert Walpole*, Eſq; who had been Chairman of that Committee, and of the Committee of Council who examined Mr. PRIOR, moved the Houſe for an Impeachment againſt MATTHEW PRIOR, Eſq;

* *Nov.* 17, 1710.

where

whereupon, on the 17th of the ſame Month, Mr. PRIOR was ordered into cloſe Cuſtody, and "That no Perſon ſhould be admitted to ſee him, "without Leave from the Speaker." And in 1717, when an Act of Grace was paſſed, Mr. PRIOR, who lay ſtill at the Mercy of the Houſe of Commons, was one of the Perſons excepted out of it. But being ſoon after diſcharged, he retired wholly from Buſineſs, and ſpent the Remainder of his Days chiefly at his own Villa of *Down-Hall*, or at *Wimpole*, a Seat of the Earl of *Oxford*, where he died on the 18th of *December*, 1721.

I have now nothing more to add of Mr. PRIOR's, but the State of his Accounts, as a Plenipotentiary Miniſter, which has been two or three Times referred to in the foregoing Sheets; and to prefix to it a Letter of his to Mr. *Daniel Arthur*, Merchant, concerning the Payment of a Draught for 2000 *l.* which he had made upon the Lord Treaſurer *Oxford*, but which had not been anſwered when the following was writ, notwithſtanding the Hopes that had been given him in the * Letters before inſerted.

SIR, *Weſtminſter, Oct.* 13, 1716.

IN Anſwer to the Letter you ſent me concerning the Bill of 2000 Pound, drawn by me in the Year 1714, from *Paris*, upon the Earl of *Oxford*, then Lord High Treaſurer, I muſt inform you,

That I had Her late Majeſty's Orders ſignified to me by the ſaid Earl, to draw that Bill on him (as I had done ſeveral others before, which were all regularly paid); that a Warrant was ſign-

* See Pages 413, 414, 415.

ed

ed on *Edward Nicholas*, Eſq; to pay this in like manner as my other Bills were paid. But by the Removal of the ſaid late Lord Treaſurer, and Her Majeſty's Death immediately afterwards, the Payment of the ſaid Bill was poſtponed.

A State of my Demands being by his Grace the Duke of *Shrewsbury* laid before his Majeſty on his happy Arrival here, wherein that 2000 Pound was included; His Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to ſay, He would give the neceſſary Directions therein.

The Earl of *Halifax* being afterwards in the Treaſury, laid before his Majeſty in Council, a new State, which he had ordered to be prepared of what was due to me from the Crown; upon which His Majeſty was pleaſed to order, that what had incurred ſince his Acceſſion to the Crown, ſhould be paid immediately out of his Civil Liſt Money; (which was accordingly done) and that the ſaid 2000 Pound ſhould be paid out of the Arrears of the late Queen's Civil Liſt Money: And this was confirmed to me by two Letters, one from the ſaid Earl of *Halifax*, and the other from Mr. Secretary *Stanhope*.

By all which it appears, that this is a Debt properly demandable from the Crown, and that your Application ought to be to the Lords of the Treaſury, to make good the ſame out of the Arrears of Her late Majeſty's Civil Liſt Money. And I cannot doubt but when their Lordſhips ſhall ſee the Equity thereof, they will, in their great Juſtice and Regard to the public Credit, (which I take to be concerned in this Matter) order the Payment of the ſaid Warrant out of the Arrears of Her late Majeſty's Civil Liſt Money.

I am, Sir, *&c.*

The

The State of Mr. PRIOR's *Accompt.*

MR. PRIOR went for *France* the 1st of *August*, 1712, from whence to the first of *November*, 1714, is two Years and a Quarter, in which Time there hath been paid on his Bills — 11810 0 0

And he hath drawn other Bills, which are yet upaid, for — 4458 0 0

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
	16268	0	0

The Pay of an Ambassador for that Time, and for his Ordinary Bills of Extraordinaries, would amount to — 15300 0 0

So that he hath exceeded that of Ambassador, by — 968 0 0

The Pay of a Plenipotentiary for that Time would be only 7918*l.* and his Exceedings, reckoning that Way, would be — 8350 0 0

Mr. PRIOR in his Letter seems to give an Account only of eight Months, as tho' these Bills for 4458*l.* were drawn for that Time; and if it should be looked upon, that the Sum of 11810*l.* paid by Warrants of the late Lord Treasurer, the Earl of *Oxford*, was accounted for to him, then the Account as an Ambassador for those eight Months, would be — 4533 6 8

And

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
And these Bills being	4458	0	0
Will be less than the Pay of an Ambassador by	75	6	8
But the Pay of a Plenipotentiary for that Time, would be only 2346 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* so that he will have exceeded that of Plenipotentary by	2112	6	0

Mr. PRIOR, in Excuse of this large Demand, lays before your Lordships several extraordinary Expences, which in the said eight Months amount to 16135 Livres, *viz.*

Celebrating Her late Majesty's Coronation Day	3100
Mourning for the Duke of *Berry*	1935
Ditto for Her late Majesty	3300
Expences at *Fontainbleau*	4400
Celebrating His Majesty's Coronation	3400
	16135 Livres.

Which is about 942 *l* Sterling.

From the End of *August*, 1712, to *December* following	4 Months.
From *Dececmb.* 1712, to *Decemb.* 1713.	13 Months.
From *Decemb.* 1713, to *August*, 1714.	7 Months.
	24

Am-

	l.
Ambaſſador	15300
Equipage	1500
Plate	1800
Mourning for the Duke of *Berry* and for the Queen, about	300

Whereas Mr. PRIOR from —— to —— is charged, *&c.* ——

Altho' he has not had the Advantages allowed to Ambaſſadors, as is alledged.

One hundred and four Weeks from *Auguſt*, 1712, to *Auguſt*, 1714, at 100 *l. per* Week ordinary Entertainment.	10400 0 0
Mourning, *&c.* about	300 0 0
	10700 0 0
Wanting	1660 0 0
Parliament	12360 0 0

In the following Letter of Mr. *Drift*'s to the Earl of *Oxford*, (found among the other Papers contained in this Volume) we have a candid Teſtimony that Mr. PRIOR was not miſtaken in theſe Words of his laſt Will; *My Lord* Harley *will be juſter towards all with whom he deals, and kinder to my Friends, than any other Man I leave behind me in the World*; as well as of the ſincere Regard paid by Mr. *Drift* to the Memory of his *dear Maſter*, as he affectionately calls him, and of the Genuineneſs of the Manuſcripts written in the ſame Hand, or received from the ſame Quarter.

A

A Letter to the Right Honourable EDWARD *Earl of* OXFORD, *with an Accompt depending between his Lordſhip and* Adrian Drift.

When to the World lov'd PRIOR *bad adieu,*
And on bright Cherubs' Wings to Heaven flew,
Poor Drift's *Concerns, my Lord, he left to you;*
To you, my Lord, of all his Friends, the beſt,
Moſt juſt, moſt kind:—Thus, dying, Drift *he bleſt;*
And thus, great Guardian, bleſt, on you depends
The future Weal of Drift, O OXFORD, *beſt of Friends.*

My Lord,

HAVING had the Honour the firſt Day of *Auguſt*, 1723, to preſent a Book to you containing a State of the Accompts depending between your Lordſhip and myſelf, when the ſaid Accompt was ſettled, (to which I beg leave to refer you) excluſive of another Accompt put into your Lordſhip's Hands by Mr. *Oliver Martin*, concerning Timber-Trees, Grubbed Wood, Bricks, *&c.* (Chattels at *Down-Hall*) a true Copy of which is hereunto annexed; as is likewiſe an Abſtract of all the Effects choſen by your Lordſhip, as well there as at *London*; the very low Appraiſement whereof, you had the Goodneſs (not long after you had made ſuch Choice from the Inventory) to tell me in the moſt gracious Manner, ſhould be conſidered. Since when having received ſeveral Sums of Money of your Lordſhip, and in *November* laſt your farther Command to make up my Accompts a-new, and to lay them before you; I do, in Obedience thereto, now tranſmit to you, my Lord, a faithful State

State of them, as they at preſent ſtand, Errors excepted, from the aforementioned firſt of *Auguſt*, 1723, to the 25th of *March*, 1726, humbly ſubmitting the ſeveral Articles contained in the ſaid Accompts to your Lordſhip's candid Examination and Conſideration; praying, at the ſame Time, that when you have gone thro' the whole, you will be pleaſed to ſignify your final Pleaſure to me thereupon; when, my Lord, I ſhall proceed without delay to ſettle my Affairs in Life! A Life that would have been led in much Anxiety, had you not been ſo infinitely kind as to alleviate the ſame by your Countenance and Favour; and thereby rendering the great Loſs of my late Dear Maſter, leſs grievous to him, who prays Permiſſion to repeat, that he is with everlaſting Duty and Gratitude,

My Lord, Your Lordſhip's, &c:

ADRIAN DRIFT.

N. B. *Mr.* PRIOR's *Eſtate at* Down-Hall *reverted after his Death to the Earl of* Oxford, *then Lord* HARLEY, *who likewiſe bought the moſt valuable of his Pictures, Medals*, &c. *of which Mr.* PRIOR *had by Will given Him the Preference.*

Tho' the following Piece has no immediate relation to Mr. PRIOR's Hiſtory, yet as it ſeems to have been kept by him and his Executor as a curious Anecdote, and perhaps is not to be met with in any printed Collection, we hope our Readers will not think it a Fault that we preſerve it at the End of this Volume, by Way of Appendix, with an *Engliſh* Tranſlation for the Uſe of thoſe who are unacquainted with the Original.

Copie de la Lettre de Monſieur *Stanhope* au General *St. Saphorin.*

De Londres *le* 4. Novemb. 1718.

NOUS avons receu vos lettres du 26*me* Octobre, *N. S. et le courier de Monſieur* Bentenreider *nous a porté celles du* 29*me, que nous detaillent les raiſons qui perſuadent l'Empereur qu'il ne peut retenir la Princeſſe* Sobieſki. *Monſieur* Bentenreider *nous a fait là deſſus toutes les memes repreſentations, & Sa Majeſté voit avec peine l'embarras que l'arreſt de cette Princeſſe attira à l'Empereur. Mais s'il doit ſouhaiter qu'il en ſorte, c'eſt par un tout autre chemin que celuy que l'on offre. Il eſt trop evident que tous ceux qui ſe donnent tant de mouvements pour procurer l'accompliſſement de ce mariage, ne s'en donneroient pas moins pour faire valoir dans la ſuite les liaiſons de ſang, que le Pretendant contracteroit par là, le même querelles les animeroit de meme, et l'Empereur doit par toutes ſortes de motifs d'amitié et d'intereſt couper court à des ſollicitations et des effets dont il ſe reſſentiroit luymême le premier, par les juſtes ombrages aux quels il donneroit lieu.*

Mais outre la partie conſiderable que le Pretendant ſe formeroit au dehors par ce mariage, et les eſperances dangereuſes que cela nouriroit dans les malaffectionnez de la nation; les bons ſerviteurs et fideles ſujets du Roy euxmémes ne pourroient en tirer que des conſequences funeſtes de la demarche à laquelle l'Empereur demande que Sa Majeſté donne les mains. Nous avons toujours regardé les intereſts du Roy comme inſeparables d'avec ceux de l'Empereur; et il eſt vray que l'Empereur a paru étre dans le méme ſiſteme de ſon coté; mais en tout ce qu'il à fait juſqu'icy conſequement a ce ſiſteme luy ſeul étoit intereſſé perſonellement, et il n'a proprement fait que

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permettre que le Roy luy ſervit à ſes riſques, à ſes depens, et à travers mille contradictions. Je avoue que le Roy l'a fait autant en veue du bien public que par ſon attachement à l'Empereur : mais l'Empereur en a tiré des avantages particuliers et trés eſſentielles, et Sa Majeſté les luy a procures avec plaiſir ; qu'en échange l'on examine ce que l'Empereur à fait pour le Roy en ſon particulier, l'on ne trouvera que ce ſeul arreſt de la Princeſſe Sobieſki. *Le Roy n'y eſt pas moins ſenſible pour cela, et il eſt même prêt a faire valoir cette marque d'amitié pour pouſſer ſes veues en faveur de l'Empereur. Mais à peine la Princeſſe* Sobieski *a-t-elle eté arreſtée que l'Empereur propoſe de la relacher : il ne veut pas qu'on infere de là qu'il ait plus de menagement pour le Pretendant que pour le Roy, mais le ſeul motif qu'il en peut alleguer, s'il l'emporteroit une fois ſur les vrais intereſts, nous prepareroit bien à des pires conſequences. C'eſt que ſa conſcience ſeroit chargée s'il retenoit la femme d'autruy. Or, ſi les eccleſiaſtques gagnoient une fois ſur luy de la faire concourir à un mariage qu'ils pretendent étre valide ſelon leurs canons, il n'y auroit plus de fin à leurs arguments, et ils auroient la même facilité à luy prouver qu'il doit en conſcience concourir à rendre des royaumes à celuy à qui il viendroit a rendre une epouſe et une parente. Nous aurions bien à repondre à ceux qui concluroient ainſi dans le parlement, que l'Empereur obſerve religieuſement ſes traites : Sa Majeſté Imperiale auroit fait connoître qu'une conſcience maniée par le clergé catholique degage de tous les liens d'amitié, et de l'alliance, de ſorte que dans le cas qu'on nous propoſe la queſtion ne ſe reduit pas à moins qu' à ſcavoir ſi l'Empereur à deja opté ou non entre le Roy et le Pretendant. Je ſuis bien ſeur que l'Empereur n' a pas penſé a mettre ce choix en queſtion quand il a ſouhaité de pouvoir relacher la Princeſſe* Sobieski ; *mais lorſqu'il y aura meurement reflechè, il verra bien qu'il*

ne peut pas y avoir de milieu dans la ſituation ou le Roy ſe trouve, et qu'il faut abſolument en être tout entier pour Sa Majeſté au tout pour ſon ennemi. Ce n'eſt pourtant point que le Roy ſonge à violenter la conſcience de l'Empereur ; mais à juger ſainement, la conſcience doit nous faire eviter le plus grand de deux maux, comme la prudence doit nous faire choiſir le moindre de deux inconveniences. D'ailleurs il eſt ſeur que ce mariage n'eſt pas allé ſi loin que le Prince Jaques *veut le faire accroire ; il doit être juſtement ſuſpect ſur ce fait, et nous ſcavons par des voies plus ſeures, et ſur tout par des lettres interceptées de la maiſon du Pretendant même, que le mariage devoit ſeulement être beni à* Bologne. *Mais quand même ce ſeroit une* matrimonium ratum, *comme le Prince le pretend, au moins n'eſt il pas conſommé. Il y à cent exemples que le Pape à diſſolve de pareils mariages pour de bien moindres ſujets ; et la conduite que le Pape à toujours tenue, tant par rapport à l'Empereur que par rapport au Roy, merite bien qu'on ne luy epargne pas là le devoir ; et les moyens pour le mortifier en cas de refus ne nous manqueront pas. Ajoutez y que ſi des mariages clandeſtinement benis doivent abſolument ſubſiſter, et obliger en conſcience à l'entradition de l'epouſée, les Archiducheſſes ne ſeroient plus en ſeureté dans le palais même de l'Empereur. Le mariage de la Princeſſe* Sobieski *avec le Pretendant ou empeche ou rompu, que l'une prenne enſuite un autre mari, et l'autre une autre femme ; toujours l'Empereur auroit prevenu les ſuites inevitables aux quelles il s'expoſeroit et ſon meilleur ami s'il s'avançoit la jonction de ces deux perſonnes ; et Sa Majeſté Imperiale aura ſans doute ſuffiſamment dequoy porter le Pape à calmer ſa conſcience, en la diſpenſant d'une loy qui n'oblige qu' autant qu'il trouve à propos.*

Ainſi, Monſieur, comme vous êtes pleinement informé, tant par cette lettre que par mes precedentes,

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des ſentiments du Roy ſur le ſuſdit mariage, vous ne manquerez pas d'en faire à la cour imperiale toutes les repreſentations neceſſaires et proportionnées aux inconveniens ou Sa Majeſté enviſage : nous nous en ſommes enclinez de même avec Monſieur de Bentenreider ; *et ce miniſtre ſeût bien de quelle importance il nous eſt de ne laiſſer même entrevoir à perſonne vers l'ouverture de notre parlement, qu'il peut ſeulement être queſtion du relachement de la Princeſſe* Sobieski. Je ſuis, *&c.*

Signé *STANHOPE.*

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Secretary Stanhope *to General* St. Saphorin.

London, Nov. 4. 1718.

WE have received your Letters of the 26th of *October*, N. S. and M. *Bentenreider*'s Courier brought us thoſe of the 29th, containing the Reaſons which perſuade the Emperor that he cannot detain the Princeſs *Sobieski*. M. *Bentenreider* has made here the ſame Repreſentations on that Head, and His Majeſty ſees with Concern, the Difficulties which the Detention of that Princeſs will bring on the Emperor. But tho' He cannot but wiſh theſe may be avoided, He wiſhes it by a Way very different from that which has been propoſed. It is too evident that all thoſe who take ſo much Pains to procure the Accompliſhment of this Marriage, would not take leſs hereafter to enforce the Validity of thoſe Ties of Blood which the Pretender would thereby contract ; the Engagements would be equally ſtrong, and the Emperor ought, by all the Motives of Friendſhip and Intereſt, to put a Stop to thoſe Solicitations and Effects, the Conſequences of which himſelf would feel the firſt, thro' the

juſt Umbrages to which his Conduct muſt give birth.

But beſides the conſiderable Party which the Pretender would form abroad by this Marriage, and the dangerous Hopes that it would foment in the Ill-affected here at home; His Majeſty's faithful Servants and good Subjects themſelves could not but draw fatal Conſequences from this Step, to which the Emperor requires His Majeſty to give his conſent. We have always regarded the King's Intereſts as inſeparable from thoſe of the Emperor; and it is true that the Emperor, on his Part, has appeared of the ſame Sentiment; but in all that he has done hitherto, in conſequence of this Syſtem, himſelf alone was perſonally intereſted, and, properly ſpeaking, he has only permitted the King to ſerve him at his own Hazard and Expences, and in Spite of a thouſand Obſtacles. I confeſs the King has done this as much with a View to the public Good, as from his Attachment to the Emperor; but the Emperor has drawn from it particular and very eſſential Advantages, which His Majeſty has procured him with Pleaſure. Let us examine, in return, what the Emperor has done for the King, and we ſhall find this Arreſt of the Princeſs *Sobieski* to be the only Inſtance. His Majeſty, however, is not the leſs ſenſible of the Kindneſs, and is willing to receive this ſingle Mark of Friendſhip as an Equivalent for extending his Views yet farther in the Emperor's Favour. But the Princeſs is no ſooner arreſted, than the Emperor propoſes to releaſe her. He would not have it inferred from thence, that he has more regard for the Pretender than for the King: But the only Motive that he can alledge, if it ſhould once get the better of real Intereſt, would be productive of yet worſe Conſequences;

quences: It is, that his Conſcience would be burthened, if he ſhould detain another Man's Wife. If the Eccleſiaſtics once carry this Point, to make him concur in a Marriage, becauſe they pretend it is valid according to their Canons, there will afterwards be no end to their Arguments; and they will with the ſame Facility prove to him, that he ought to contribute in beſtowing Kingdoms on that Man, to whom he has juſt before given a Wife and a Relation. It would be in vain for us to anſwer thoſe who might reaſon thus in Parliament, "That the Emperor religiouſly obſerves his Treaties;" when His Imperial Majeſty had made it manifeſt, that a Conſcience managed by the Catholic Clergy, diſſolves all the Bands of Friendſhip and Alliance. The preſent Queſtion, in ſhort, amounts only to this; "To know whether the Emperor has, or has not, hitherto made his Choice betwixt the King and the Pretender". I am very ſure that the Emperor never thought of putting this Choice in Queſtion, when he wiſhed he might releaſe the Princeſs *Sobieski*. But when he has maturely reflected upon it, he will ſee that there can be no Medium in the King's preſent Situation; and that he muſt abſolutely become either wholly for His Majeſty, or wholly for his Enemy. Not that the King ever dreamed of violating the Emperor's Conſcience: But to judge impartially, Conſcience ſhould make us ſhun the greateſt of two Evils, as Prudence ſhould make us chuſe the leaſt of two Inconveniences. Beſides, it is certain, that this Marriage is not gone ſo far as Prince *James** would have it believed: He ought juſtly to be ſuſpected on this Head, and we have more ſure Ways of knowing, particularly by Letters intercepted from the Pretender's own Family, that the Marriage was only

* *Sobieski.*

to be *bleſſed* at *Bologne*. But even if it were *Matrimonium ratum*, as the Prince pretends, at leaſt it is not conſummated. There are an hundred Examples of the Pope's having diſſolved ſuch Marriages, upon much leſs weighty Occaſions; and the Pope, by his continual Conduct, as well with regard to the Emperor as to the King, does not deſerve to be excuſed his Duty herein; nor do we want the Means of mortifying him, in Caſe of a Refuſal. Add to this, that if Marriages clandeſtinely *bleſſed*, ought abſolutely to ſubſiſt, and to oblige in Conſcience to the Delivery of the Bride, the Archducheſſes would be no longer ſafe, even in the Imperial Palace. The Princeſs *Sobieski*'s Marriage with the Pretender being either obſtructed or diſſolved, ſhe may afterwards take another Husband, and he another Wife; the Emperor will have effectually prevented thoſe inevitable Conſequences, to which he will expoſe himſelf and his beſt Friends, if he promotes the Union of theſe two Perſons; and his Imperial Majeſty, doubtleſs, will have Means enough to induce the Pope to calm his Conſcience, by diſpenſing with a Law which can oblige only ſo far as he finds it convenient.

Thus Sir, being fully informed, as well by this Letter as by my preceding, of the King's Sentiments upon the ſaid Marriage, you will not fail to make all the neceſſary Repreſentations thereof at the Imperial Court; Repreſentations proportioned to the Inconveniences which His Majeſty foreſees. We ſhall do the ſame here to M. *Bentenreider*; and that Miniſter well knows of what Importance it is to us, towards the Opening of our Parliament; not to let it even be ſuſpected that the Releaſe of the Princeſs was ever brought into Debate. I am, *&c.* *STANHOPE.*

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